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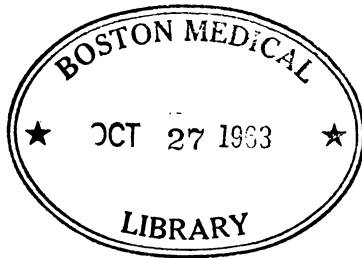


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RUMANIA AND THE WAR

NICHOLAS LUPU

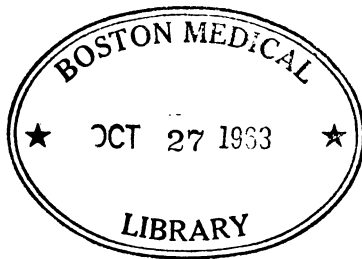
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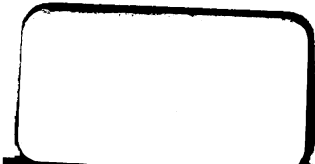
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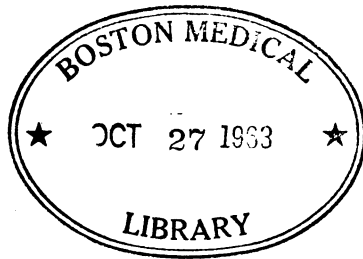


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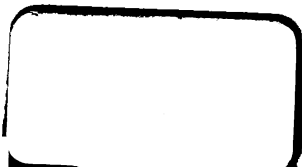




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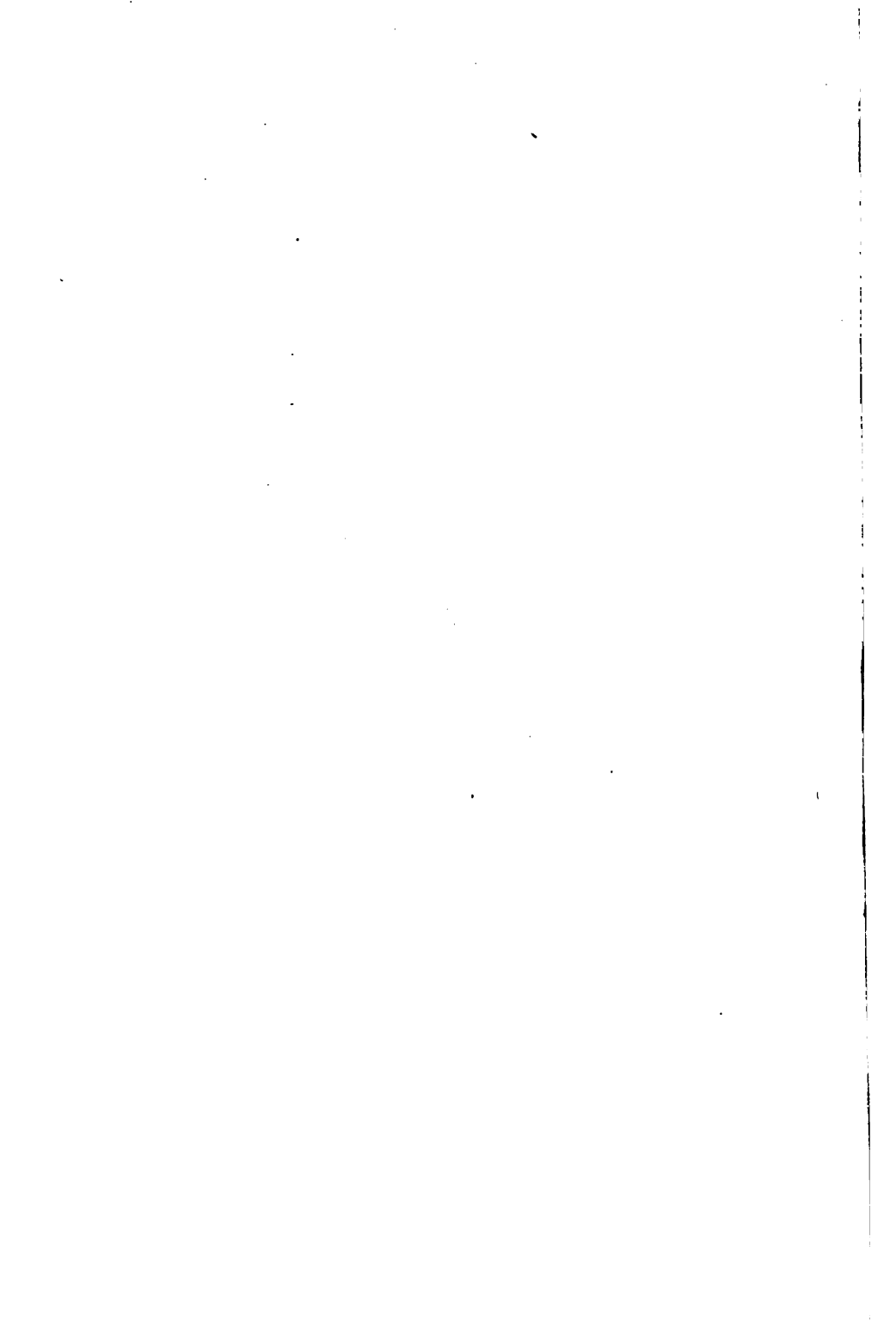


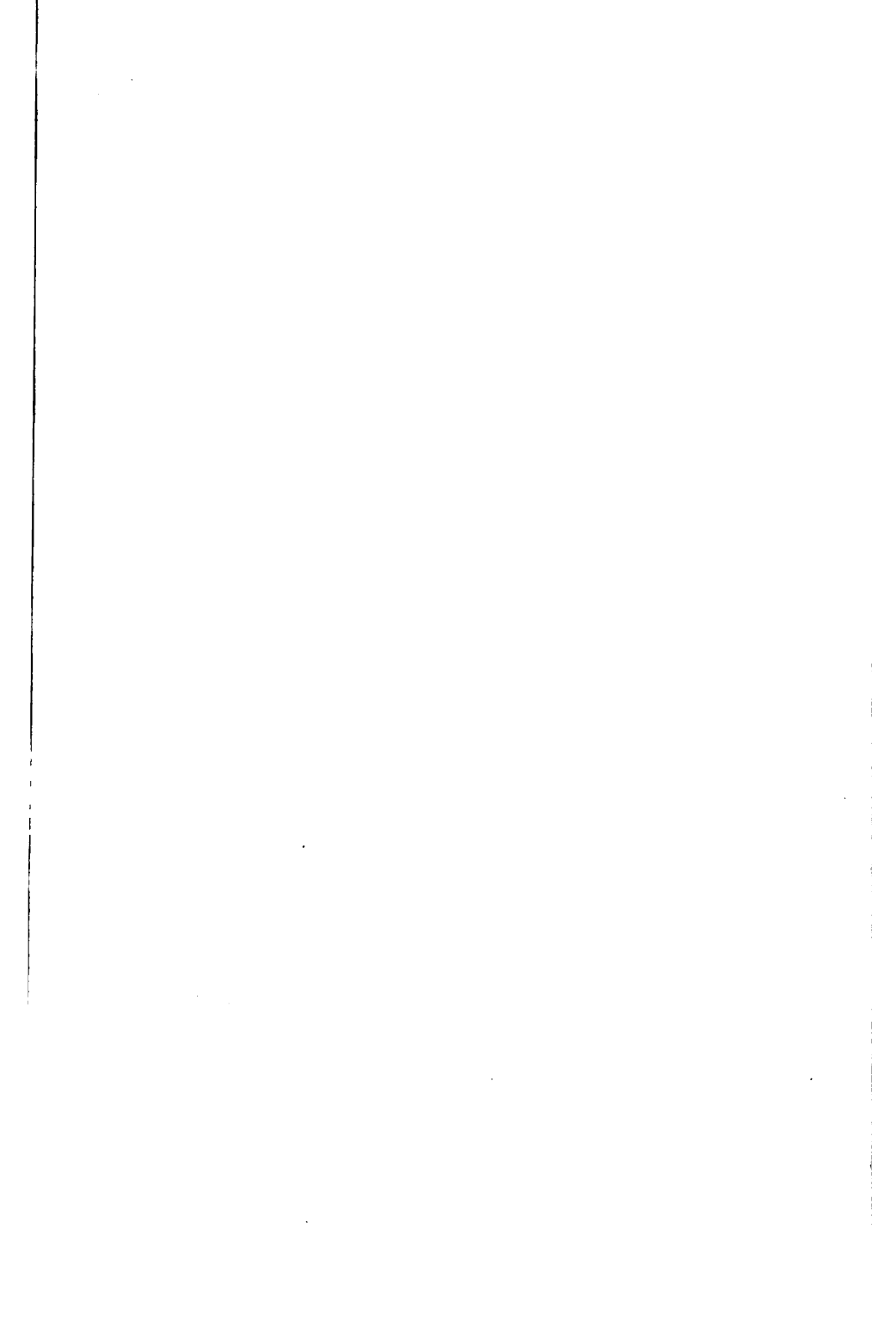
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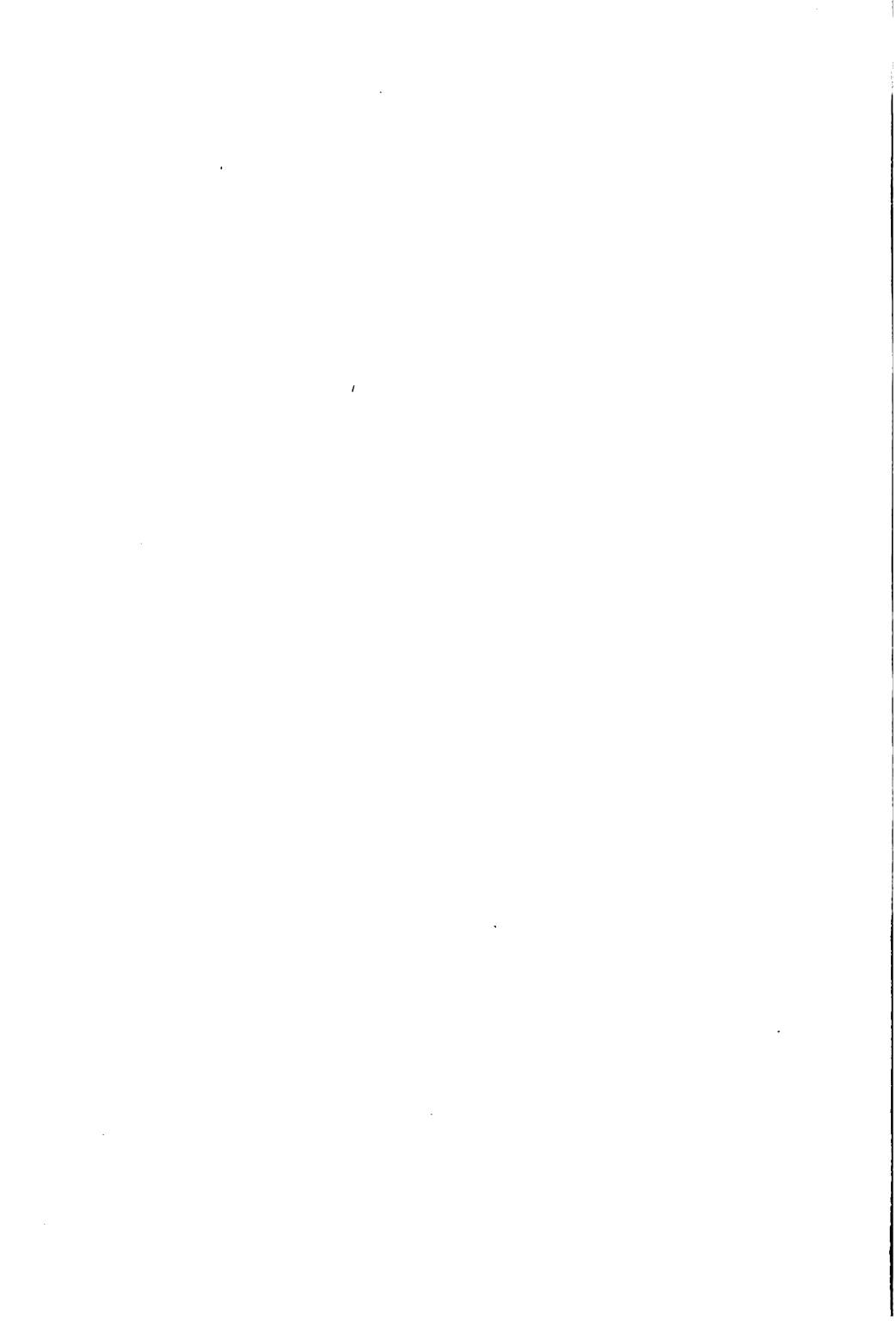
















WITH THE RUMANIAN ARMY—A CAVALRY PATROL ON THE ICE FIELDS

# RUMANIA AND THE WAR

BY

*e*  
NICHOLAS LUPU, M.D.  
*Member of the Rumanian Parliament*

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY  
JEAN RADOU



BOSTON  
RICHARD G. BADGER  
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## FOREWORD

The author of the following book is a Rumanian physician who was also, during and prior to the war, a member of the Rumanian Parliament. When his country, overrun and devastated by her enemies, and completely cut off from her friends, was forced to sign an unwilling and disastrous peace with the Central Powers, he left his home at the last moment when it was still possible to reach the outside world, because he believed that he could serve his country only by pleading her cause abroad. For Rumania, which possibly suffered more than any other country in the war, was certainly the most completely isolated of all those that had fought the common enemy. Within a few weeks after our author's departure it was impossible to enter or to leave the country, and even communication by post or telegraph was out of the question. A small band of leaders like Dr. Lupu had escaped to represent the country to the world, and they alone could tell her story.

Some part of that story is printed in this book.



Dr. Lupu travelled in England, France, Italy, and America, speaking and writing of Rumania. The articles here collected represent some of the discourses and essays thus delivered or published in the allied countries. Their author was in America when the armistice was signed, promising a brighter future for his land as for all others. The rest of his story can better be told in the words of a letter of the author, which, though not written for publication, forms an appropriate introduction for his book to the American public.

“When I sailed for America three months ago, I expected to stay here longer. The deeds of the valiant American boys were so heroic that they brought a rapid close of the war in victory. Through their achievement the path is once more open to Rumania, and I am in a hurry to go home in order that I may be of service in this dark hour of my country’s history. But I shall come back to America. One who has been here once, and has been inspired by the spirit of America, has to come back. It is as it used to be in Rome. Pope Adrian IV, when receiving visitors at the Vatican, used to ask them how long they were staying in the Eternal City. If the reply was one week, he would say ‘adieu’ at their departure, but if the answer was three months or more he always said ‘au revoir.’ So it is with me.

"During my three months here, I have seen many things. When the time for writing comes again I shall tell my countrymen about them. But one thing I must say now.

"I have wondered how the Americans were able to achieve such memorable deeds in peace and in war as they have accomplished. And if I have not probed deep into the ultimate causes of their success, I believe that nevertheless I have satisfied myself as to the proximate causes of their remarkable progress.

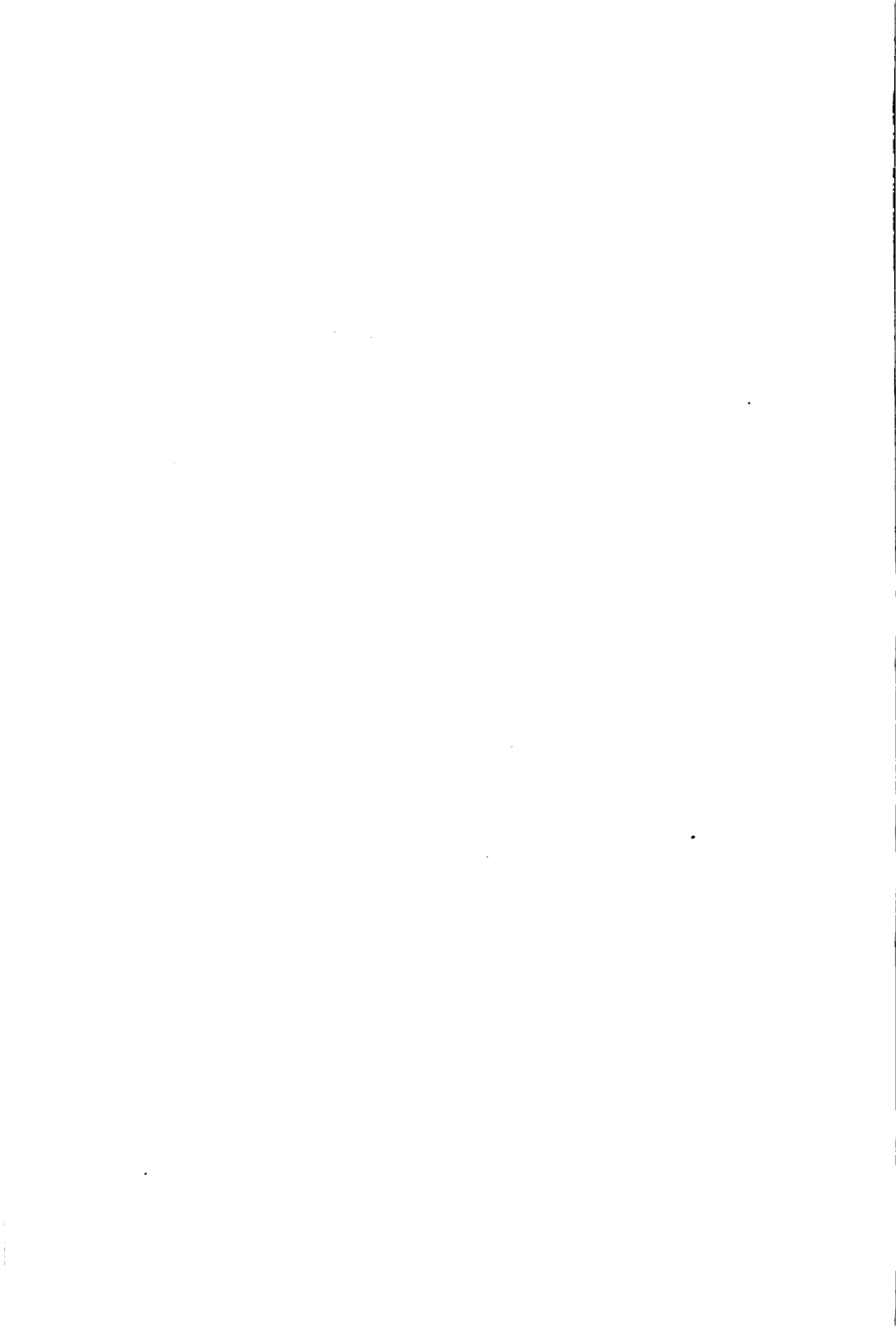
"For certain purposes the many types of individuals and peoples in the world may be reduced to two. There is the purely idealistic type, who dreams of regenerating the world into perfection, but whose dreams have too slight foundation in experience and practice. The Russians of our day are an example. Then there is the practical type, strong of will, powerful in organization, but lacking in high spiritual ideal. The Germans are the corresponding example. Now the Americans exhibit both these qualities highly developed and remarkably harmonized, and this striking combination of traits is, I am sure, a considerable part of the explanation of their successes. And with these traits they are distinguished also for what I can only call a certain freshness of soul, a

naïveté, characteristic of strong and young peoples, for whom nothing is impossible.”

An author who speaks in this way about our country after a brief acquaintance with it deserves an interested reader when he writes about his own land.

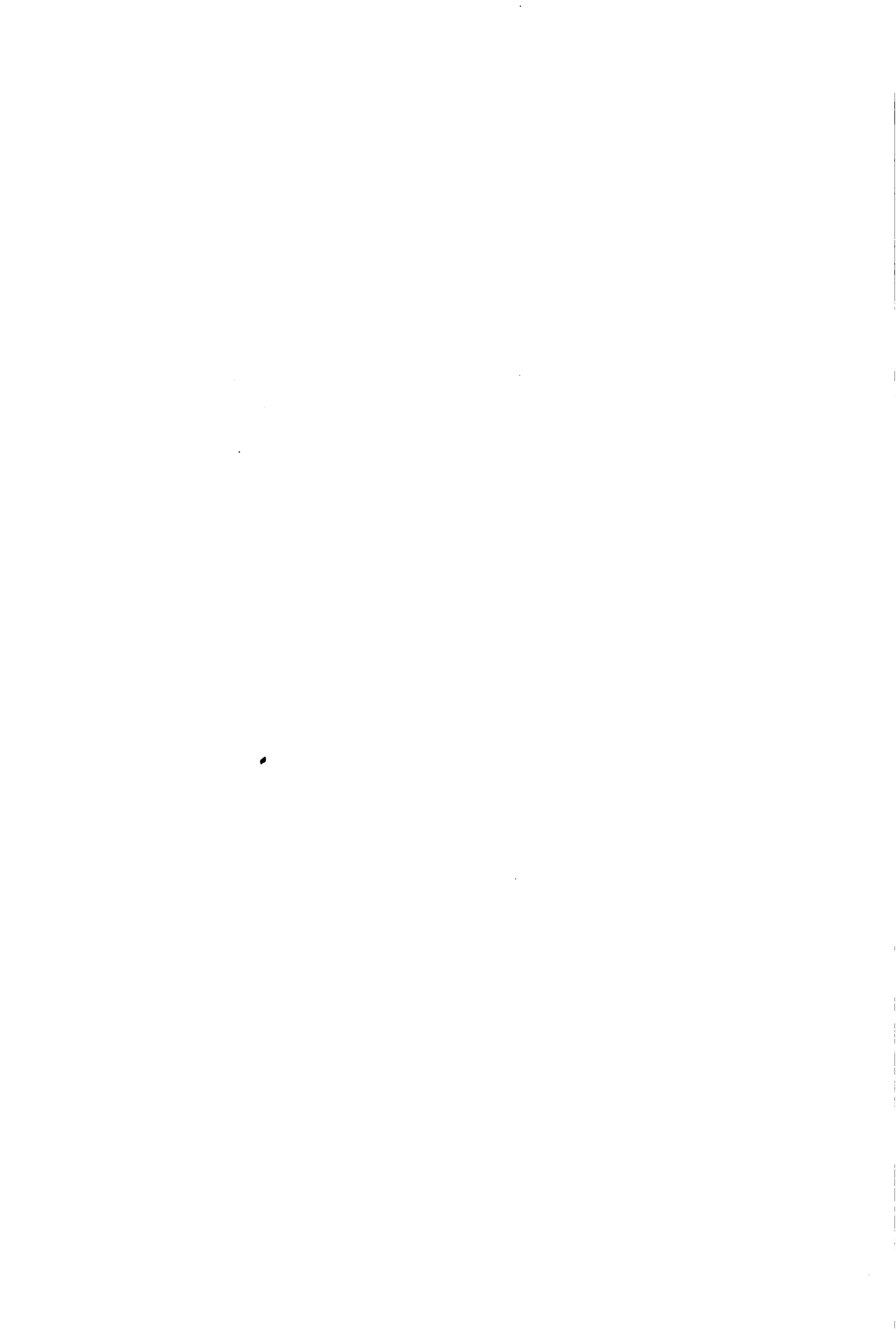
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## RUMANIA AND THE WAR





## RUMANIA AND THE WAR

**T**WO years ago, when I was in London, I saw in a newspaper a sketch representing a newspaper boy in 1935 crying "Rumania coming in." That sketch depicted sarcastically the anxiety and the puzzled state of mind of the public as to the attitude of Rumania. From 1914 until 1916 Rumania was the political sphinx of the time. Is Rumania to come into the war? On whose side, and when? Why has she not yet come in? These questions remained unanswered. No one was able to say anything definite. Later on, long before 1935, Rumania did enter the war on the side of the Allies. After some ephemeral successes at the beginning, when her sons after three centuries of waiting since the time of Michael the Brave entered again into Transylvania, the calvary of her misfortunes began: the loss of Dobrudja, the retreat in Transylvania, the loss of Wallachia, hunger, and exanthematic typhoid. Instead of the enthusiasm which greeted the entry of Rumania into the war, a sort of disillusionment and disappointment was felt in the West, where "failure"

was the only word used of Rumania. The long-awaited ally on whom so many hopes had been built had become a burden difficult to support and a troublesome companion in the fight. Only quite lately, during the summer of 1917, after the Homeric battles of Mareshti and Marasheshti, when a good many allied officers and soldiers had the opportunity to be eye-witnesses of the bravery of the Rumanian soldiers, public opinion in the West immediately altered its ideas and sentiments toward Rumania. And now after the Russian disaster, which has had a repercussion on all of us, but a tragical one on Rumania, one may say that everybody shows sympathy and compassion for the Rumanian people. But neither during the period of doubt and suspicion, nor during the time of enthusiasm and subsequent disappointment—one could almost say of disdain—perhaps not even during the present period of compassion, is the real situation of Rumania known. The public at large do not know it and, what is more important, even those do not know who ought to know. For if the real state of things in Rumania had been known, many mistakes could have been avoided, and the entry of Rumania into the fray could have been decisive for the Allies instead of being fatal for her. The aim of this essay is to throw a stronger light on the conditions of the Rumanian tragedy.

First of all, was it absolutely necessary for Rumania—speaking from the point of view of strictly Rumanian interests—to take part in the world war? Yes. While other peoples of Europe had long ago fulfilled the national ideal of having in one state all their co-nationals, the Rumanians, after a long series of historical vicissitudes, were at the beginning of the twentieth century in the following geographical and ethnographical situation: There were 7,000,000 Rumanians living in the Kingdom of Rumania; 4,500,000 in Transylvania, Banat, Bukovina, and parts of Maramuresh and Crishana in Austria-Hungary; 2,000,000 in Bessarabia; 1,000,000 over the Dniester in the governments of Kherson and Podolia in Russia; 500,000 in Macedonia; and 200,000 in Serbia on the Timok Valley. More than half of the Rumanians are living beyond the boundaries of the Kingdom, but in its immediate neighborhood and in unbroken continuity, except those in Macedonia.

The Rumanian in Transylvania and Hungary is beyond the protection of the law. The Hungarians, who vaunt themselves on having a constitution as old as the British, and on being the most liberal people in Europe, are suffering from a great delusion. They dream of making a great nation of 20,000,000 Hungarians, although they number only 8,000,000. For this reason, they try

to magyarize the 14,000,000 Rumanians and Serbians by imposing upon them the most Draconian régime; and in the matter of inventing Draconian devices they are unsurpassed by anybody. In the first place, the Rumanians are deprived of parliamentary representation. Instead of the eighty deputies to which the proportion established in Hungary for election purposes would entitle them they have only four. The vote is not secret, and at each election there are dead and wounded among those who vote for the Rumanian candidate. Liberty of the press is non-existent; for as soon as one writes of Rumania, fines and imprisonment are his portion. During the last twenty years about one hundred years of prison and many hundred thousand crowns in fines have been imposed upon Rumanian journalists in Hungary. Justice is administered in the Magyar language, which the great majority of the Rumanians do not understand, because it is a language apart, which has no kindred with any of the European languages. The instruction is also given in that language. The schools which the Rumanians have established at great sacrifice out of their own private funds have been closed by the liberal Hungarian Count Apponyi. Three hundred peasants were done to death in the interval from 1902 to 1912 for wearing the Rumanian national tricolor.

Not one Rumanian paper or book from Rumania is allowed to enter Hungary, although there is no prohibition in Rumania for the importation of any publication from either Hungary or elsewhere. All the public offices, large or small, are occupied by Hungarians; all economic advantages, like banking, credit, help in misfortune, colonization, etc., are only for Hungarian use. The name they give to the Rumanian, "Oláh," is a name of insult.

This state of slavery, of vassalage to the Hungarians, under different forms has lasted for centuries. Several times the Rumanians have revolted. Since the revolutionary movements of 1784 and 1848 hundreds of thousands of Rumanians have emigrated partly to Rumania to tell their misfortunes to their brethren, and partly to America. The latter are forming at present a few divisions which will be sent to France, in the Rumanian uniform, to fight side by side with the British and French soldiers. Thus the Rumanians will still be represented in the mighty army of the Allies, although a cruel fate prevents the main body of the Rumanian army from continuing the holy struggle.

But the emigrants left behind millions of their brethren in continual suffering. And these millions of Rumanians of Transylvania are the best element of the race. From them came the first ele-

ments of culture; they promoted the awakening of national sentiment which was slumbering under the Turkish domination; they have produced the best of our writers and poets, two of whom, Goga and Coshbuc, belong to our own generation. From the beginning of the world war they looked eastward over the Carpathians to Rumania with dawning hope, and but one thought, their liberation. And with equal longing the great mass of the people in Rumania shared their hope and ardently desired its rapid fulfilment.

When, in recompense for the help given to them by the Rumanians in their war against the Turks in 1877, and contrary to the formal engagements taken to respect the integrity of the territory of Rumania, the ungrateful Russians for the second time took Bessarabia away from her, the official policy of Rumania, under the leadership of the late King Carol, was, of dire necessity, adherence to the Triple Alliance. But the people, the great mass of the nation on both sides of the Carpathians, never understood that they must sacrifice to this Alliance the more than just claims of the Rumanian race.

But besides the cry of our brothers over the mountains, we could also hear the plaint of our brothers over the Pruth in Bessarabia. All the gallant history of four centuries of the struggle for freedom in Moldavia is full of names of Bes-

sarabian heroes and Bessarabian places. Broken by treason from the body of Moldavia in 1812, and incorporated with Russia by the Tsar Alexander I, Bessarabia was enduring a cruel fate. Here every national movement was punished not by fines, but by exile to Siberia and death. No Rumanian schools, either private or belonging to the Government, existed. In the Church, only Russian was permitted, and so also in the administration and the courts of justice. As for national representatives, even the Russians had none. And above all this there was the continuous enmity which Russia of the Tsars has shown to the Rumanian countries, always regarded as a prey. In the nineteenth century the Rumanian countries were six times overrun and plundered by the Moscovite armies; and the last act of the rape of Bessarabia was in 1914, too fresh in everybody's mind. If one adds to this the well-known desire of Russia for the Dardanelles and Constantinople, that is to say, the outlet by which the whole of the exportation of Rumania is directed, and that Russia and Rumania, both producing the same articles, oil and cereals, were continually meeting as competitors in the Western markets, one can easily see that the sincere supporters of an intervention against Russia, were not lacking in plausible arguments.

I say with intention sincere supporters, because



much was written and said about corruption in Rumania practised by Germans and Russians in order to influence public opinion. It is certain that corruption existed; but the enemy bought those who were for sale. I remember that the Germans paid £40,000 to a journalist who had been implicated in many shady affairs. When asked why they were lavishing money on such individuals, they answered: "We have to buy the dishonest ones; the honest ones do not take money." But though a few degenerates may have been paid for their work, there was a small but sincere current of opinion in Rumania opposed to the popular desire. It is no wonder that the Germans exploited the situation; it was obviously in their interest to do so. The strife between these two currents lasted two years. This was the painful period of uncertainty. "Nothing is more difficult than to make a decision," said Napoleon, who was a man of action. How much more difficult was it for Rumania, a little, isolated state, with the puzzling Russian menace at her back, with the fate of Belgium and Serbia fresh in her memory, to decide to make the supreme choice on which the very existence of the state and of the nation were at stake!

The struggle was severe. The supporters of action on the side of the Germans had strong ar-

guments. We must not place our confidence in the Russians, who have always deceived and betrayed us. No matter what is the general result of the war, on the Eastern front the Russians are bound to be beaten; and if we are with them, we shall have to share their fate. It is true that our brothers of Transylvania are suffering; but the same can be said of our brothers in Bessarabia. If the Russians are victorious and take the Dardanelles, we shall be their economic slaves, and then also their political slaves. Technically speaking, we cannot make war against Austria, because we have no munitions, and no possibility of bringing in munitions, our Western allies being too distant and the way through the White Sea too long; while if we are on the side of Germany, we can bring in quickly plenty of munitions.

In conclusion they quoted the authentic opinion of the German Military Attaché, von Hammerstein, given to a Rumanian statesman. "Your army is excellent; the soldiers are perfect. You lack munitions. The command is not so good. If you join us, we shall complete your command and give you sufficient munitions. In two months' time you will be masters of Bessarabia and the Rumanian portions of Kherson and Podolia up to the River Bug, including Odessa. If you go against us, the command will be weaker still, because you

will fight together with the Russians, who have proved to be badly commanded. You will have no munitions because the Russians are themselves lacking, and your other allies are too far away. In three months' time your whole country will be occupied by German armies."

I must add that at the time Rumania was entirely lacking in heavy and mountain artillery, airplanes, machine guns, gas masks, and all the equipment which has been found to be absolutely necessary during the last two years of modern warfare. In addition to this, we must not lose sight of the most important fact that Rumania, having been allied to the Central Powers, had made all her strategical works, fortifications, etc., solely for defense against Russia. We must also remember that the front on the line of the Pruth against Russia was only two hundred and fifty miles, while the Carpathians and the Danube aggregate a front of over one thousand miles, and that the salient of Wallachia was exposed from the very beginning to an attack on two fronts, which we were unable to meet adequately owing to numerical inferiority and to the lack of strategical railways for quick communication on interior lines. The arguments were so forcible and the facts so irrefutable that reply was difficult.

But, in spite of all these arguments, the instinct

of the masses led them to different views. The Rumanian people had always been the oppressed, never the oppressor. They could see that in this war Germany was the aggressor, and that justice was distinctly on the side of England and France. Imbued with democratic tendencies, the Rumanians saw that, setting aside national particularistic sentiments, this war represented the fight between two systems: the system of the divine right of autocracy on one side, and the system of the rights of the people and of democracy on the other. On this side was fighting England, mother of all constitutions, and France, descendant of the revolution, France who has helped us to accomplish our national unity and whose culture we have all eagerly absorbed. Even if we for our part were to be partially destroyed, the democracies would emerge triumphant in the long run, and our cause would be won. England had always kept her word; she would not leave her wounded ally forever in the clutch of her enemies. Technically, the war against Germany was almost impossible. Morally, it was all the more impossible to fight against England, France, and Italy, even though they were allied with the unfriendly Tsarist Russia. This, in brief, is the tragedy of two years of uncertainty.

I leave you to judge whether a people has ever

been put face to face with a more difficult problem: just national claims on both sides, technical impossibility of fighting against one side, moral impossibility of fighting against the other. And yet it was imperative to make a decision. Rumania could not remain inactive in this war, the end of which would see the settlement of all nations, without incurring the penalty of being excluded from the roll of honor of the nations and of renouncing forever all her ideals as unworthy of fulfilling them.

The honest and sincere patriots saw all these difficulties. They knew that the Western nations were conscious of them; and they believed, naturally enough, that the Allies would so arrange affairs as to yield the maximum of benefit from the intervention of Rumania. They thought and hoped that the Allies could find a means of useful cooperation on the part of Rumania with them. The reinforced armies of Russia, the new successful offensive of Brusilof on one side, the army of Sarraill on the other, were the two supports to which Rumania looked. Her flanks being effectively sustained, a useful offensive on her part was possible. In the midst of these anxieties, of pitiful uncertainties, and expectations, on the 27th of August, 1916, the Rumanian Government declared war on Austria. *Alea jacta!* The enthu-

siasm was great in the hearts of all Rumanians. For the first time after many centuries they had made the first step toward the fulfilment of the holy ideal of national unity. But being conscious of the immensity of their task and the number of the difficulties in the way, they showed an emotion not expansive in accordance with their accustomed character, but grave, dignified, and restrained.

Three days after the declaration of war, all the passes of the Carpathians towards Transylvania were occupied, and after a few weeks one-third of Transylvania was in the hands of the Rumanian army. I myself witnessed the great enthusiasm of the liberated Rumanian population of Transylvania. Women, old men, and children crying for joy at their liberation! Poor people! They paid dearly for their few moments of joy; for after the retreat of the Rumanian army about 14,000 Rumanians were done to death by the Hungarian authorities for having sided with their kinsmen.

Almost simultaneously with the first flashes of joy began also bitterness and painful experience. From the first days of the war Bucharest was incessantly bombarded by day and night by the Zeppelins and airplanes, without being able to defend itself; and the Bulgarians, under German leadership, began to assault from the south, al-

though they had given assurances to the Russians and Rumanians that they would never attack their liberators from the Turkish rule (they gave similar assurances also in 1915 to the British Government that they would not make war on the Serbians, and for this reason the Serbians were prevented from attacking the Bulgarians before they were fully mobilized). After two weeks of hard struggle Turtucaia, the key to the Dobrudja, fell into their hands. Who will relate the bravery of the two regiments of frontier guards who, defying fate and shouting their battle cry, "We shall not stop until we reach Sofia," pushed back ten miles the numerically much superior Bulgaro-German hordes? Of 6,000 of them, there remained one hundred and sixty, after inflicting double those losses upon their enemies. Supreme sacrifice but futile, because there were behind no reserves to replace them.

Thus, from the beginning the fight was on two fronts. In order to defend Dobrudja, where the Russians had not arrived as promised in sufficient number, it was found necessary to detach troops from the expeditionary force in Transylvania, which, together with the brave Serbian and Czech legions, and with feeble Russian help, had succeeded in holding in check to the South of Medgidia the armies of Mackensen during two months.



WITH THE RUMANIAN ARMY—MAXIM SECTION DRIVING DOWN A  
STEEP EMBANKMENT





Meanwhile, the concentration of the Austro-Hungarian and the German troops was finished—this was all the easier for them, since during all the Rumanian campaign there was absolute inactivity on all other fronts—and the Rumanian armies, still lacking in necessary material, heavy artillery, machine guns, and airplanes, were forced to retire in disorder into their country.

At the frontier, the peasant soldiers knelt in front of their officers and, imploring them, said: "We will all die here; but we cannot retire any further and let the enemy invade the country." Three months with their breasts they held the crests of the mountains. All the attempts of the enemy to penetrate were in vain. At a first attempt, in the Jiu valley, even women and boy scouts took part in the fight and the enemy was repulsed. During all this trying period the Rumanians were looking round them in wonderment: "Why do not the Russians come to help us? Why does not Sarrail move to attack the Bulgarians in the south?" They were at a loss; they could find no answer, and continued the fight alone. After a time the Russians came, not to lend a hand where the fight was raging, but to take the positions occupied by the Rumanians in Moldavia, sending them to the firing line instead. When the fight was hard for the Rumanians, and they wanted

help, the Russians remained behind the front, indifferent. Strange things also happened. When, for instance, Turtucaia fell, and all the Rumanians were mourning, the Russian Commander Zaianchikovsky and his staff were banqueting in Medgidia.

Without help from anywhere, incessantly pressed by superior forces and armament, after three months of resistance the Jiu pass was forced, the hordes invaded the plains of Oltenia, and from now onward the great salient of Wallachia could no longer resist, being taken as in pincers on the north by Falkenhayn and on the south by Mackensen, who had crossed the Danube at several points. A last attempt to save Bucharest was made in the battle of the river Neajlov, in the same spot where three hundred years ago Michael the Brave had defeated the Turks. Unfortunately, this did not succeed; and on the 6th of December, Bucharest itself capitulated.

Now the fate of the whole of Wallachia was sealed, and in consequence it had to be evacuated entirely. In December, 1916, the Russo-Rumanian Army made a stand and fortified itself on the line of the Sereth. Owing to this retreat Dobrudja also could not be held, and had to be left to its fate. In four months the best and richest part of the country was lost, with immense quantities

of cereals and petroleum. The latter, however, was destroyed, together with all the plant necessary for its extraction and refinement, by a British mission. Half of the country was in the hands of the enemy, and the first part of the war was lost. The situation, however, was not yet desperate. We had still an army able to fight and still our hope was unquenched.

Before going into a description of the second part of the war, I must insist a little on the causes of the Rumanian disaster. At that time we did not yet possess all the data enabling us to explain it. Since then, however, some events have occurred, and some secret information has transpired, which give us the possibility of forming a definite opinion. The elements of this judgment are furnished by the declarations of the Rumanian Government regarding the conditions on which Rumania came into the war, by the debates at the trial of General Sukhomlinof, by the affair Paix-Seailles, by the Russian secret records, and by the attitude, during its last days, of the Tsarist régime toward Rumania.

The Rumanian Government, without divulging the secret treaties, by various publications and conversations declared that the entry of Rumania into action had been demanded at the time by the Allies. But, having in view the lack of armament

and the great extension of the front, Rumania had formulated certain conditions which had to be fulfilled entirely if her intervention was to have any success. These conditions were: (1) an immediate and simultaneous offensive of the Russian army, whose left wing commanded by Brusilof was to join the Rumanian right wing in the northeast of Transylvania; (2) the sending of sufficient Russian forces to protect the Dobrudja and the Danube against the Bulgarians (an army of only a few hundred thousand was necessary for this operation); (3) and last, a simultaneous offensive of the army at Salonica, which was said to be 400,000 strong. It was thought that this army, advancing to the north, would destroy the Bulgarians and operate the junction with the Rumanian left wing. Instead of this, what happened? Brusilof did not move at all, and the armies under the command of the Rumanian General Presan waited vainly for two months for the Russians to join them. In Dobrudja, instead of 200,000 men, only 20,000 were sent; and the army of General Sarrail made at Salonica and toward Monastir only a few demonstrations of artillery.

Why all this? Sarrail could not move. From the affair Seailles we learn that at the time, Sarrail had no more than 50,000 to 60,000 men, an

army which naturally could not take an offensive. On the Russian side the position was more complicated. The man who had been entrusted by all the Allies to act with Rumania was Sturmer, who actually sent an ultimatum to the Rumanian Government, asking them to join now or never. It is now a well-established fact that Sturmer was a German agent, the man of Rasputin and of the Tsarina. From the proceedings of the Sukhomlinof trial we learn the consternation which was created in Russia and in all the Russian embassies abroad when Sturmer was called to take the lead of the country. He was the last man whom the Allies and Rumania could have trusted. This traitor had already arranged the peace with Germany. Among other stipulations of their treaty, Moldavia was to go to Russia, and Wallachia to be partitioned between Austro-Germany and Hungary. The entry of Rumania into the war and her crushing were necessary to the Russian Government as a pretext for peace. And naturally Russia acted consciously and earnestly towards that end.

This is the pure truth. And in the light of these facts it is easy to explain why the Russians lent us only an illusory help; why they stayed unmoved behind our front witnessing how we were being crushed, while instead of defending the Dobrudja,

they were robbing and destroying it; why, while we were in the agonies of death, they were banqueting. But there are other concrete facts which strengthen this affirmation. In the Russian secret records, Polivanof, a Russian high official, writes that what happened was to be desired, and explains that if Rumania had fulfilled her national ideals—to which end Russia by treaty was bound to help her—she might also have demanded the retrocession of Bessarabia, which is inhabited by Rumanians. The strengthening of Rumania was not compatible with Russian interests. In January and February, 1917, all the steps were taken at Jassy for the definite occupation of Moldavia at the conclusion of the treaty between the Tsar and the Kaiser. The Russian Minister Poklevsky, who worked for the alliance between Russia and Rumania and was suspected of sympathies with Rumania, was replaced by General Masolof, former Adjutant of the Tsar, who was an outsider in diplomacy, but who knew all the intimate secrets and plans of the Russian Court. General Lechitzky, the Russian Commander, declared candidly that he received orders to make only a military occupation of Moldavia. The Russian officers became very arrogant, took possession of railway stations, trains, and public buildings, and were warning us that in a few weeks we should

see who were the real masters of the country. On the other hand, comfortable trains were placed at the disposal of the rich and intellectual classes and also the members of Parliament, who were being induced voluntarily to expatriate themselves and make room for the new Russian occupants! It is hardly possible to describe the terrible times through which the Rumanian population had to pass then!

In the meantime the Russian Revolution had broken out. The joy felt in Rumania at this news is also very difficult to describe. We were at last freed from the nightmare of the Tsarist occupation and of a peace to our detriment; and we said, simpletons as we were, that in the revolution the Entente had gained a fourth ally. We were thinking of the French Revolution, fighting against autocracies, and we hoped that history was about to repeat itself.

Meanwhile, let us see what was happening with the Rumanian army during this interval. In Moldavia, little and poor, to which the Army and the Government had retired during the severe winter of 1916, the maximum of suffering brought about by this war in any part of the world was certainly reached. In addition to the normal population of the country there were living at the time in Moldavia the Rumanian army, about



1,000,000 Russians, and the refugees from the Dobrudja and Wallachia. The population was thus more than doubled. The supplies, however, for this population had diminished to the vanishing point. Food was lacking; there was no coal or oil, so much so that even in the railway engines they had to burn green wood. In these conditions it is not astonishing that epidemics soon spread everywhere. Exanthematic typhoid, aggravated by starvation—I have myself seen whole army corps eating for weeks together only maize boiled in water—decimated both the army and the civilian population. The cemetery in Jassy alone, a town of 70,000 people in normal times, received that winter over 100,000 dead; over one-third of the medical staff (nearly three hundred doctors) succumbed to this terrible disease, and the whole population of some villages disappeared. It was desolation and misery in their blackest form. Notwithstanding all this, courage and hope were not entirely lost.

Help from far-away France and England began to arrive; armaments, clothing, medicines and the medical staff, nurses and the military missions. The army began to be reorganized. With the spring also came the first rays of hope in the shape of the Russian revolution. The epidemics diminished somewhat, the supplies from Russia began

to arrive more or less regularly, and in May, when Mr. Albert Thomas inspected the Rumanian troops and saw them so active and stalwart, he enthusiastically exclaimed: "One might say they are real *Poilus*." And indeed, except for their language, they were real *Poilus*. They had the same dash, the same courage, and the same contempt for death and enemies as their French and English comrades. They were impatient to be again led to the attack, this time well-supported by heavy artillery, machine-guns, and airplanes; and they were eager to see their enemies out of the country and out of Transylvania. At that time, in an enthusiastic assault, in two days they pushed the enemy back twenty miles! Their joy knew no bounds. The third day, however, the fatality which seems to follow the Rumanians put a stop to both their joy and their advance. In Bukovina and Galicia the Russians were flying before their enemies. They had evacuated Tarnopol and were refusing to fight. The Russian revolution was different from the French one. Under these circumstances, the advance of the Rumanians was in vain. Owing to the retreat of the Russians, which left our right wing unprotected, we could have been attacked from behind. The Rumanians had to stop. They sent forces to defend the north of Moldavia, left unprotected by

the Russians, and prepared for the great defensive which culminated in the battles of Mareshti and Marasheshti in August. The Austro-Germans, taking advantage of the retreat of the Russians, were preparing to destroy the Rumanian army and invade Moldavia.

Hastily the Rumanian Government made preparations to face all eventualities. They sent all the gold and valuables to Moscow—which appeared to them to be a very safe place. When the confidential reports of the British and French military attachés regarding these battles are published, they will constitute the best testimony to the valor of Rumanian soldiers. In the thick of the battle the Rumanians, stripped to the waist, charged the enemy with the bayonet, clubbed their rifles, and, when they were at too close quarters threw their rifles away and flew at the throats of their enemies, whom they slew furiously. Perhaps having in mind the description of these fights, Mr. Lloyd George referred to the Rumanian soldier as being one of the best in the world. Mr. Robert de Flers, the distinguished French writer and journalist, who was an eye-witness during this eventful time, says: "One does not render sufficient account in England of the difficulties of their performance. When that is known, I think your fellow-countrymen will pay them profound hom-

age. The reconstituted army of Rumania vanquished the army of Mackensen and reconstituted the Eastern front."

Since then, Rumania has been passing through another period of anxiety, the equal of which could hardly be found in history. Her brave sons are looking with broken hearts and contempt at their Russian comrades fraternizing with their bitterest enemies. They hoped from day to day that they would come to their senses, and would start again the fight for honor and liberty. But they hoped in vain. Instead of recuperating, Russia was falling into anarchy. After fraternizing, the Russians left the front and went into the interior of their country to start the fratricidal fight against their own kin. On their way through Moldavia, which had fed them during a whole year, they were pillaging, burning and violating. And then the Rumanians were reluctantly obliged to turn their arms against their former allies, in order to protect the little that was left to them by their old enemies. After destroying Rumania, the Russians went home and betrayed their own people; and that is how the Ukrainians were the first to sign an ignominious peace with the Germans and bring them into their country to restore order. This altered entirely the position of Rumania, because it placed another foe at her back,

surrounding her, and cutting off her only way of retreat and supply of ammunitions and food. As if this tragedy were not enough, the Bolsheviks, through their complete lack of political sense, declared war on Rumania!

Rumania is now at the mercy of her enemies. With cynicism and barbarous greed they are imposing on her the most humiliating conditions. Hertling calls them "friendly"; and the arch-cynical Czernin declares that they are in conformity with the principle of self-determination! Rumania is on her knees with the knife at her throat, robbed of her richest, most beautiful, and purely Rumanian provinces, humiliated and enslaved economically, and forced to accept a German peace, in order to escape for the time being from total destruction as a race. "With the best army of the oriental front and one of the best of the Coalition, Rumania is at the mercy of her enemies, who are surrounding her on all sides. But when one is left alone in a coffin of lead, the best thing is to bow to destiny!" says Mr. William Martin, in the *Journal de Genève* of the 28th February! This is the tragedy of Rumania!

To those who may ask what was the advantage brought by Rumania to the cause of her Allies through her sacrifice I will answer that the sacrifice is a value in itself. It remains alive and intact,

like the great principle for which the sacrifice was made. We did not start the fight in the hope of securing the triumph of right by our own force alone. The monster was far too powerful to be put down by our single arm. But either by our sacrifice or by our force we planted the dagger deep into his flanks; his wounds bled much; he was weakened; and this rendered easier for a time the task of our comrades from the West. Remember the moral depression in Germany at the news of the entry of Rumania on the side of the Allies, the forces which Germany was obliged to take from the western front in order to face our attack, the loss of some hundreds of thousands of dead and wounded inflicted by us, the calm enjoyed by the western front during our fighting. Take also into consideration our own great losses, and you will understand the importance of Rumania's action. The great French statesman, Monsieur Briand, who invited Rumania to come in at the time when she did come in, being asked a short time ago why he took that decision at a time and in circumstances so unfavorable to Rumania, replied: "If I had not done that then, you and I should not be now conversing in Paris." This reply defines sufficiently the part played by Rumania. If there had been unity of action, unity of command, Rumania could have done more; but

criticism and recrimination may be left to history.

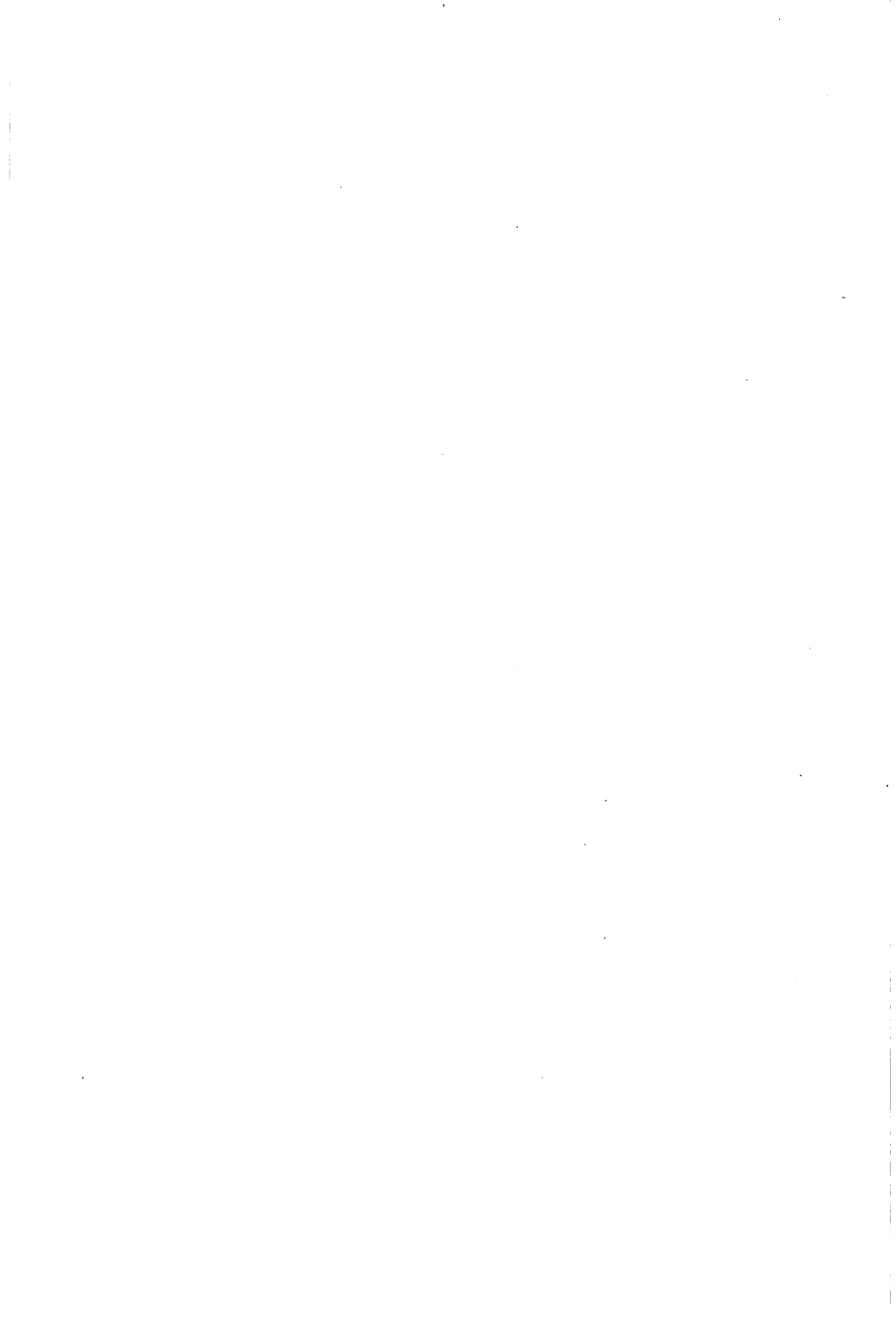
For almost twenty centuries of its existence the Rumanian people has gone through many a tragedy. The most recent is under another form, a sequence of the previous ones. Being in the path of the barbarian Asiatic invaders, the Rumanians retired to the mountains, where they lived forgotten for many centuries. When the invaders settled down, they appeared again during the latter part of the middle ages, and attained the summit of their greatness during the reigns of Mircea the Old and Stephen the Great. The seed of the barbarians has not, however, disappeared. On the west there lived then, as they do now, the Hungarians; on the south, the Turks and Bulgarians; on the east, the Russians and the Tartars. The small nucleus of Latinity, then and now, had to face and fight them all. In his long reign of fifty years Stephen the Great overcame each in turn; but the permanent difficulty of the Rumanian situation is expressed in prophetic words put into his mouth:

If your foe exacts from you humiliating trials, it will then be better for you to die by his sword than to witness the downfall and slavery of your country. The God of your fathers will, however, take pity on the tears of his servants, and will cause one of you to rise who will establish again for your descendants the power and glory of past times.



WITH THE RUMANIAN ARMY IN THE FIELD. A PRIEST BLESSING REGIMENTAL COLORS





History continues. The descendants of the barbarians who even now still inhabit Europe, helped now by the descendants of the Germanic tribes, deadly enemies of the Romans and of Latinity, have flown like beasts on the Rumanian nation, trying to rend it. The man dreamed of by Stephen the Great has not appeared.

Nowadays, the conscience of all the nations replaces the might of the individual. If in the past the Rumanians were fighting alone in the Orient, ignored by all, to-day they have found support in the conscience and the soul of the great nations of the west, England, America, France, and Italy. These will not tolerate their destruction; for as a faithful ally Rumania has honestly fulfilled her task to the end. She has sacrificed on the altar of the common cause all her country with its riches, and over one million souls. But her greatest sorrow is that for the moment Fate forbids that she should do still more.

Crushed and humiliated for the time being, the poor Rumanian nation has only one hope which enables it to live. One day, a day not far distant, will come the time, the final hour, the hour of victory for the great democracies of the world. Then will be given to the peoples a just peace, not the peace of the cynical beast and the hypocrite robber. But should the worst come to the worst,

should the democracies of the world not understand that Rumania's cause is their cause, and should she be left to her executioners, the Rumanian nation would never yield. From the tomb our cry will be heard; the conscience of the world will have no rest. Like our ancestors in days of yore under oppression and alien domination, we will take again the way of the forest; we will defy them by every desperate device of the despairing. But we will never tolerate that our foes should destroy our race and our national soul.

I am confident that we shall not be reduced to that extremity. Confident in the civilization and the progress of humanity, we are certain that the day will come when the victorious allied armies will pass over the hideous corpse of German militarism, and will give to the thirsting world, Germany included, the much-longed for peace, the peace of justice and right. Then justice will be done also for the martyred and long-enduring Rumanian people. Then the new spirit of world democracy, rather than the superman dreamed of by Stephen the Great, "will rise," as he foretold, "and will establish again for your descendants the power and glory of yore."

An old Rumanian proverb says, "The Rumanian never dies." He will not die. *Trăiască România!*  
N. LUPU.

## SOME FACTS OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

**T**HE most sensitive part of the European continent is that middle portion which begins with Poland and ends in the Balkan States. Owing to various historical events, a firmly established equilibrium has not yet been realized among the peoples here. Why is it that just in this part of Europe nearly all wars and misfortunes, including the present one, have started? *The main cause is that this region is the keystone between Asia and Europe.*

There have been three great movements between those two continents in the last two thousand years. The first and shortest was the Roman drive into Asia. The second, which lasted nearly 1000 years, was the invasion of Rome and later of Byzantium by Asiatic peoples. From these invasions resulted on the one side the fall of Rome and Byzantium, with the destruction of their empires, and on the other the mixture of the invaders with the invaded, or the total disappearance of the Asiatics. Some groups of the invaders did

not disappear; neither were they assimilated. They form to-day distinct peoples in Mid-Europe, whose right to life cannot be denied. But in their invasion they waged cruel wars and created long enmities which still live to-day. More than that, the invaders still keep under their sway portions of the invaded peoples.

The third big move began in our day. The immense German industrial development wanted two things, new and big markets and great supplies of raw material. Both may be provided by Asia and, by an accident of history, we are witnessing an inverse phenomenon: the economic penetration of Asia by Europe. Economic domination means political domination. We have been witnessing an effort toward the political domination of Asia by the Germans. To-day, as in the past, the way towards Asia passes through Central Europe.

Moreover the Balkan States in the last century have been victims of another attempt at conquest. As far back as the eighteenth century, Peter the Great left as his will for Russian autocrats the conquest of Constantinople. The way from Russia to Constantinople is through Rumania: hence the infinite series of wars between Russia and Turkey was supported largely by the two Rumanian countries, Moldavia and Wallachia. In

the nineteenth century alone there were six wars. Belgium and Rumania stand out as the two countries on the map of Europe where the most numerous wars have taken place. After the Russian dream of Asiatic empire came that of Germany, looking for a way to Asia through Constantinople. And to make this way safe for themselves, the Germans promised the Bulgarians the domination of the Balkans in spite of Bismarck's statement that the Balkan problem did not deserve the bones of a single German grenadier. The hypertrophy of the German appetite has become acute in the last fifty years, and in the present war for an ephemeral success, hundreds of thousands of German grenadiers have left their bones on Rumanian fields for the Balkan problem.

Upon the establishment of satisfactory new conditions in Mid-Europe will depend, to a very large degree, the maintenance of future peace. If we look at an ethnographical map of Mid-Europe we see that the Rumanian people, descendants of the Eastern Roman Empire, as France and Italy are of the Western, is established in a compact mass on the land surrounded by the Rivers Tisza, Dniester and Danube. Numerous Rumanian islands lie also beyond the Dniester. In the Ukraine, as far as the neighborhood of Kiev, there is a dense group of Moldavians in nearly

every village. Their number may be between six hundred thousand and one million. In the Balkans, in the mounts of Pindus, in Thessaly, Epirus and Macedonia, there are more than half a million Vlachs or Rumanians. And in Serbia in the Timok Valley, they number about two hundred thousand. A German scholar, accustomed to ideas of conquest and depredation, once said that the Rumanian race spreads in the east and south like an oil spot on paper. These spots are the remnant islands of the Eastern Roman Empire submerged by the waves of the invaders, Slavs, Russians, Bulgars, Hungarians and Turks.

As a result of the first invasion from Asia we find at the present time the Rumanian people in the following position: A homogeneous group between the Tisza, the Dniester and the Danube and some dispersed groups beyond the Dniester and in the Balkans. Ever since the beginning of its history, the homogeneous group has been broken in two; one part in Transylvania, Banat and Hungary, subjected to the Hungarians, and another part in Moldavia and Wallachia (present Rumania) independent and flourishing, till the arrival of the Turks in Europe, when they also fell under Turkish domination.

During their best epoch these countries, especially Moldavia, were on good terms with the

Poles. Rumanian students went to the Polish universities, and the first Rumanian historians, Miron Costin and Ureche, were fellows of those universities. Remembrance of past associations kept friendship alive between these two peoples through the centuries. In Rumania, the dispersed sons of unfortunate Poland, after her repeated and criminal dividing among the Russians, Germans and Austrians, always found shelter and welcome. Common past remembrances and common hate against the conquering Czardom established a strong bond of sympathy. This is interesting for the near future of Mid-Europe, because these two peoples together form a continuous belt from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Solidly established and fairly helped in their development, they will constitute the surest barrier against the imperialistic tendency of Germany.

With Russia, before her hypertrophy, the Rumanian countries were on good terms, strengthened by the common faith, the Greek Orthodox religion. A Moldavian, Petru Movila, founded the Archbishopric of Kiev. The beautiful daughters of Moldavian princes were married to Russian Czars and Ukrainian hetmans, and Catherine the Great wore dresses *à la Moldave*. Unhappily, because Russia's tendency toward conquest was menacing to the very existence of our race, the



Russians began to be much hated. In 1812, Russia stole Bessarabia, part of Moldavia (between the Pruth and Dniester). After the Crimean War, in 1856, the European Powers gave back to Rumania the southern part of Bessarabia, but once more in 1877 the Russians as a fine reward for the very useful help given by the Rumanians in their new war with the Turks, took it back again. In the south, Rumania has had good neighborly relations. But the Turks, during three long centuries, have exercised upon Rumania an influence contrary to progress. Through the victorious war of 1877, we finally liberated ourselves from them.

Our other southern neighbors are the Bulgarians and the Serbs. With the Bulgarians we formed, during the 11th century, a common empire; the Rumano-Bulgaro Empire of the Asanides dynasty, which was Rumanian. Until 1913, when the Second Balkan War took place, nothing had occurred to disturb the friendly relations between the two peoples. Then came the realization of two factors which caused embitterment. First, although the Bulgars number not more than five millions, they would like to dominate all the Balkans and take possession of Constantinople; second, the Bulgar nearness to Constantinople, to which they form the hinterland,

constituted a special menace. For this reason Austria and Russia worked their most skilful intrigues, culminating in the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913. Russia patronized the Balkan Alliance, which included all the small peoples friendly to Russia. Rumania, of course, was excluded, and knew nothing about any agreement. Russia's plan was to weaken Turkey, and so more easily to take Constantinople. When the Russians saw that the Bulgars were attacking the Serbs and that they wanted Constantinople for themselves, they incited Rumania to enter against the Bulgars and frustrate their plans. But it did not suit their plans to have Rumania destroy the Bulgars, because they still believed that the Bulgarian people were Russophile, and they hoped to use this friendliness when they should become masters of Constantinople. Therefore they prevented the Rumanian armies from entering Sofia, the chief town of Bulgaria.

Rumania's entry into the Balkan War was unjustly interpreted in America and England. The truth was that Rumania attacked a bandit who, through the defeat of Greece and Serbia, had become more and more dangerous for her safety. It was a great mistake that we were not allowed to annihilate the Bulgarian military force. How many misfortunes would have been avoided for

the Entente in the present war! If Bulgaria had been rendered harmless, Rumania would not have been exposed in this present war, as was Serbia, to the perfidious attack by the Bulgars. Her fate and that of the whole oriental front would have been different.

The Austrians were totally confused by the Balkan Alliance. When they discovered it, they did all in their power to dissolve it. It was not convenient for them as masters of millions of Serbs, to let these people strengthen themselves by the Alliance with the Bulgars and the Greeks. It was far from desirable to permit Russia to exert her influence upon the Alliance, because in this way Austria's path towards Constantinople and Salonica would be hampered. The dislocation of the Bulgarians was the easiest solution of the difficulty for Austria-Hungary. In Austria-Hungary there were no oppressed Bulgars, as there were millions of Serbs and Rumanians. The Austrians assured the Bulgars that they could without any danger attack the Serbs and Greeks and take the spoils of conquest, because Rumania would be stopped by Austria-Hungary. They did not succeed in accomplishing all that they promised and the Austro-Bulgaro hegemony fell in 1913, to be resuscitated again in 1915, when it was easy even for those unfamiliar with politics to see that Bulgaria would join the Central Powers.

With the Serbs, Rumania has never had trouble. Both have endured Hungarian persecutions. Close cultural and religious relations have always existed between them. One of the most honored Rumanian princesses was a Serb and one of the ruling families in Serbia had Rumanian family connections. There was only one obstacle to more friendly relations between the Rumanians and Serbs before 1913—the patronage of Serbia by Russia. We had reason to fear the Russians. Now that Czardom and pan-Slavism have disappeared, there is no reason for any misunderstanding between Rumania and Serbia.

The northern and northwestern neighbors of Rumania are Austria and Hungary. When the Austrians, or rather the Hapsburgs, were menaced by the Turks, they were friendly to us. Freed from the Turks, the Hapsburgs themselves began to conquer, sometimes by war, usually by intrigue and marriage—the two Imperial devices. In 1777, after taking Galicia, Austria turned envious eyes upon Bukovina, the northern part of Moldavia. Under the pretext that she wanted only a road to Galicia, she demanded and obtained Bukovina from the Sultan. As an argument she sent a precious cigarette-case to the corrupt Turk. It is enough to say that in Bukovina was the principal department of Moldavia, Suceava, where the most beautiful monasteries and hallowed his-

torical relics are still preserved, to understand the pain inflicted on Rumania by this depredation. After the annexation the Hapsburgs began persecution. They favored the Ruthenians against the Rumanians in Bukovina, although in Galicia they persecuted the Ruthenians through the Poles. This was the moral system of the Hapsburgs. Austria is also hated by Rumania because in 1865 she annexed Transylvania to Hungary, thus enslaving the Rumanians of that territory.

With the Magyars, the Rumanians have never been on good terms. The Magyars are not Europeans. They came from Asia in the ninth century. Uninvited guests, they invaded Rumania and dominated the people. During long centuries they persecuted the Rumanians in Transylvania, making them into economic slaves. They even forced them to adopt the Catholic religion and speak the Hungarian language. But all their efforts were futile. The Rumanian national conscience became stronger with increased persecutions. After the union of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1859, when the present state of Rumania was constituted, the Hungarians fearfully anticipated the time when the four million Rumanians of Transylvania would demand union with the Rumanians of Rumania. They tried to Magyar-

ize the Rumanians in the shortest possible time. The Rumanians were not represented in the Hungarian Parliament. For four million population, the Rumanians had only four deputies, while the Hungarians had four hundred for eight million. The Rumanian language was not permitted in Parliament nor in public life. There have been no schools for Rumanians, no offices for Rumanians. A Rumanian student whose family possessed documents showing that they had been in the country since the twelfth century asked for a scholarship to a certain institution from the government; instead, it was given to a new Hungarian citizen. When the student asked why he, of a family eight centuries old in the country, did not receive assistance, the rector answered: "In five years this other man became a Hungarian; in eight centuries you have not!" Freedom of the press does not exist. A hundred years of prison has been given to Rumanians in the last twenty years for their opinions. The Rumanian parliament in Hungary is in the Prison of Szegedin! In spite of all this, the Rumanians are in the majority everywhere.

Germany is not an immediate neighbor of Rumania, but her relations have had particular significance. The old Germany, that which existed up to 1871, the sentimentalist and culture-seeking

Germany of Goethe and Schiller, was loved in Rumania. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many Rumanian boys were in the universities of Leipzig and Munich, and many German merchants and professional men were established in Rumania. When Rumania elected as King, Prince Carol Hohenzollern, these relations became still closer. But almost coincident with his arrival, Prussian arrogance began to make itself felt and Rumanian antipathy towards Prussia was aroused. Before the war, the Germans, in spite of the Rumanian dislike for them, were attaining a strong economic hold on the country, which was the largest market in the Balkans for their trade. Most of the oil business was in their hands, and the greater part of the public debt was floated in Germany. But not because the Rumanians preferred it so. Since 1863, when the last Rumanian loan was floated in England, in spite of every effort, Rumania has been unable to raise a penny anywhere else. Rumanian loans, however, were always in British and French money, but they passed through German hands first. The Germans were our brokers and took advantage of us. Even the financiers of France did not help us. The present Premier of Rumania, Marghiloman, who was Minister of Finance in 1913 after the Second Balkan War, went to Paris to negotiate

a loan of 250,000,000 francs. He did not succeed and after some days in Berlin, the German Bank Disconto put at his disposal the money required, provided by French capital! I mention this fact because, whatever kind of peace we may have, if the Allies continue along the same lines, the Germans will again have economic and consequently political influence; and the German political influence means war and disaster again and again. The humiliating conditions of the Treaty of Bucharest imposed by the Germans have left a painful scar in the Rumanian heart.

*The union of all Rumanians in a single State is an essential condition for a democratic and lasting world peace.* For centuries they have been fighting for it. The process of the union has already begun. As a direct consequence of the Russian Revolution, Bessarabia declared herself independent in November, 1917, as a Moldavian Republic; and in April, 1918, by the unanimous vote of an assembly elected by universal suffrage, she joined herself to the mother country, *which for all subject Rumanians means Rumania, and not Austria-Hungary.* So the wrong done in 1812 by Czar Alexander the First has been repaired.

Bukovina must be returned to Rumania. Transylvania, together with the territory that lies along its western border, and the Banat must come back



to Rumania. Historically, ethnographically and geographically the right is on the Rumanian side. Transylvania never belonged to Hungary until 1867 when, wrongly and against the will of the great majority of her inhabitants, she was annexed. Her population, even according to Hungarian statistics, is Rumanian in majority. There are fifty-five per cent of Rumanians in Transylvania and the Banat, and forty-five per cent in the other parts of Rumanian Hungary. But Hungarian statistics are made in the interest of Hungary. First of all, they say that the Rumanians in Hungary show an annual increase of only five per thousand, while the Hungarians show ten per thousand. The birth rate and the death rate depend on specific qualities of race. In Rumania under the same conditions the annual increase is fifteen per thousand. How can vital statistics be so different in the near-by territory in Hungary? If we make due allowances for discrepancies of fact and also take into account the Austrian statistics for 1870, we may estimate the Rumanian population in Hungary probably at four and a half million. I sat in a train in Hungary alongside a German and a Hungarian. The latter thought I was a German.

“Vainly we try, sir,” he said to me, “to make an Hungarian State without Hungarians. You have

just passed the River Tisza. Well, till we reach the Carpathians, twenty-four hours from now, you will hear only Rumanian spoken. There are five million Rumanians and it is impossible to denationalize them!"

Every man is called a Hungarian who in answer to a question says *ighen* (yes), in spite of the fact that it is the only Hungarian word he knows. There are, it is true, more than half a million Hungarians who have been brought into the country through colonization and in one official capacity or another. Most of these people will return to their homes in Hungary when their terms of office expire. The single compact group are the Szekelers in the central part of Transylvania numbering about four hundred and fifty thousand. Their economic life is strictly bound up with that of the Rumanians surrounding them. A just peace must provide for them guarantees for free religious and cultural development, and Rumania will gladly agree to such terms. Besides the homogeneous group of Rumanians there still will remain important groups of them in the Ukraine, Macedonia and the Timok Valley, whose rights we shall desire to see respected. We shall do the same for our foreign minorities.

The Hungarians will fight to the last against giving Transylvania to Rumania. They will give

up Slovakia and Jugoslavia, but not the Rumanian countries. They will assert that Transylvania is the cradle of the Hungarians, which is not true, because they came only in the ninth century into Europe from Asia. The real reason for their desire to maintain control is that Transylvania is a very rich country, possessing important deposits of coal, iron, and gold, of which the Rumanians have been deprived. A Transylvanian folk song says "Our mountains bear gold; we are begging from door to door."

Professor Mrazek of the University of Bucharest makes the following statement:

"A rapid examination of the economic situation of the countries inhabited by the Rumanians shows that by their union it is possible to create one of the richest countries in Europe. One of the most important arteries of Central Europe, the Danube, flows for more than one thousand kilometers along its southern boundary. Its river valleys present excellent conditions for the employment of water power and so make possible the utilization of an immense hydraulic energy. The mineral wealth of the Carpathians of Transylvania, Banat and Rumania have been till now very little exploited. Great coal deposits, valuable properties in oil and gas, provide an enormous quantity of mineral energy. Before the

war started the total annual value of the minerals was 300,000,000 francs. Arable lands cover 128,500 square kilometers; the forests (fir, oak) cover a surface of 75,983 square kilometers. The vineyards and orchards, 7,700 square kilometers, the gardens 63,000 square kilometers. The fisheries of the lower Danube are the richest fresh water fisheries in Europe after those of the Volga. According to our approximate calculation the value of cereals only is two billions francs yearly. There are few countries in Europe which present such favorable economic conditions. Situated at the mouth of the Danube and on the uplands of Transylvania, the fourteen million Rumanians will constitute an economic and political factor of the greatest importance in Central Europe."

Concerning the Banat, I know that the Serbs claim it in whole or in part. But I think their pretensions are exaggerated. The majority of the province is Rumanian. There are two or three hundred thousand Serbs, but there are just as many or more Rumanians in the Timok Valley in Macedonia, part of which should go to Serbia. It is not right that the ethnographical principle should be applied only to Rumanians and not equally to Serbs. The future Serbian states, including Serbia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and, perhaps, Montenegro, will be so

great that a small portion of the Banat is not worth endangering the friendly relations between Serbs and Rumanians.

If America does not re-enter her isolation, if she will help us with her capital, her technical knowledge and her organized energy, we shall quickly become a strong country, the surest guarantee of democracy against any kind of German aggression in the center of Europe. The most common slander against Rumania heard in America is that we are not a democratic people. First of all, we are a peasant people. We have no aristocracy. In the Rumanian constitution, any titles except that of Crown Prince are prohibited, and in the interest of the country we can sacrifice even that. The various Rumanians who call themselves princes and counts abroad have no right to bear these titles. Our constitution is an exact copy of the Belgian, too exact a copy, perhaps. Our misfortune was that we inherited a group, a very limited group, of landlords, of whom we could not rid ourselves, who did much wrong to the country. We tried to oust them in 1907 by a revolution, but at every sign of restlessness the Russian and Austro-Hungarian autocracies showed themselves ready to interfere and to force us to surrender our independence. Russia and Austria-Hungary were the moral support of the

landlords. Now that Czardom has perished and the Hapsburgs are to perish with their phantom country, Austria-Hungary, the landlords will have no power. They have been apprehensive for some time, and in 1917 they passed two bills, one for universal suffrage, and the other a new agrarian measure which gave to the peasants two million *hectares* of land. The Bessarabians and the Transylvanians are also peasant people who will increase the forces of democracy. The Rumanian peasants are vivid, intelligent, active and diligent. The German, Meyer Luebka, says in his encyclopedia that the Rumanians have remarkable technical ability. An English physician who was in Rumania during the war says: "The Rumanian peasant belongs to a gentle and refined race. He is intelligent and possesses qualities of heart which you would not suspect. If the present moral and intellectual welfare are cultivated as well as the material conditions, I am sure that he will produce a race so elevated as to contrast strangely with other people who surround him."

A strong Rumanian democratic state will have a strong community of interest with the Serbs, Poles and Czechs. These three countries should be sufficient to form with us a barrier against any aggressive power. But when time has elapsed, when the miseries of war are forgotten, the wrongs

of the past repaired, and the selfishness of various peoples diminished, it may be possible that even the Bulgarian and Hungarian peoples can be included in this alliance. We must not forget that their feelings and their loyalty were corrupted by their rulers and their aristocracies.

And so with the Russians. With the Ukraine Republic, it is to our interest to be on the most friendly terms. One of the most important results of this war ought to be the disappearance of the old diplomacy and of all the autocratic dynasties. The Russian Revolution has committed many sins. In a cataclysm which destroys in one year a dynasty of one thousand years, you cannot expect perfect order. The Revolution is none the less responsible for having delivered the world from the darkest and most insidious of autocracies. The despotism which has existed in Russia has perished and the strong push of the Russians towards Constantinople is also a thing of the past. This city must be a neutral city with an international administration in which America will play a large role, directing our first steps towards a new, large and productive life.

The essential condition for a lasting peace is the creation in Central Europe of strong new states on national bases. These states, through their representatives, on October 26, 1918, en-

tered into agreement in historic Independence Hall in the city of Philadelphia in this country. The oppression of centuries and the stifling of national aspirations will soon be a nightmare of the past for all the small states of Central Europe. They can develop their own individuality without the restraining tyranny of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern overlords. They can bridge the distance to the proud centuries when they helped to make history. In the past, even under unhappy conditions, they offered the world the full blown flowers of a rich and freely developed culture in literature, art and music. How much more may they not give the world in the future! Their federation will make the strongest fortress against German invasion. They will take the place of Austria-Hungary, which must disappear from the European map.



## WOMAN'S WORK IN RUMANIA

POSSIBLY a better title for this chapter would be the work of the Rumanian women; because Rumanian women are to be found not only in the kingdom of Rumania, but also in vast regions all around Rumania, in Transylvania, in Bessarabia, in Bukovina and the Banat, in the Macedonian mountains, and also in the Western part of the Ukrainian Republic. I must, however, ask you not to fear that my remarks will be made longer on account of this fact. The Rumanian nation in all the manifestations of its life has this characteristic, that, although it has suffered many vicissitudes and has been subject to much oppression from foreign powers, it has kept in general lines the same language and the same customs. Therefore, to speak of the women of the kingdom of Rumania means to speak of all the Rumanian women of all countries inhabited by Rumanians.

In all times and with all peoples the women have had their part in martyrdom. Professor Graham Wallace, in "The Great Society," quotes from the *Medea* of Euripides: "Of all beings

born to life and intelligence, women are the most unhappy." This psychological fact, profoundly true even with happy nations, has a deeper meaning in the case of oppressed peoples. In their case the martyrdom is intensified, and as in all other similar cases, it produces heroic characters, —whether the heroes and heroines bear famous names or remain unknown among the great mass of the people who daily work and suffer.

Let us see now what is the special character, the physiognomy, and the leading interests and occupations of the Rumanian woman.

Let us go together on a Sunday afternoon to a Rumanian village. On open ground under the shade of an old oak, to the accompaniment of a violin and a "cobza" (a kind of guitar), the weekly dance of the village takes place. There you can see all the lads and all the lasses of the village, and maybe some from the surrounding country. They are dancing the Rumanian national dance, "the hora," which the Rumanian bard Cosbuc describes as follows:

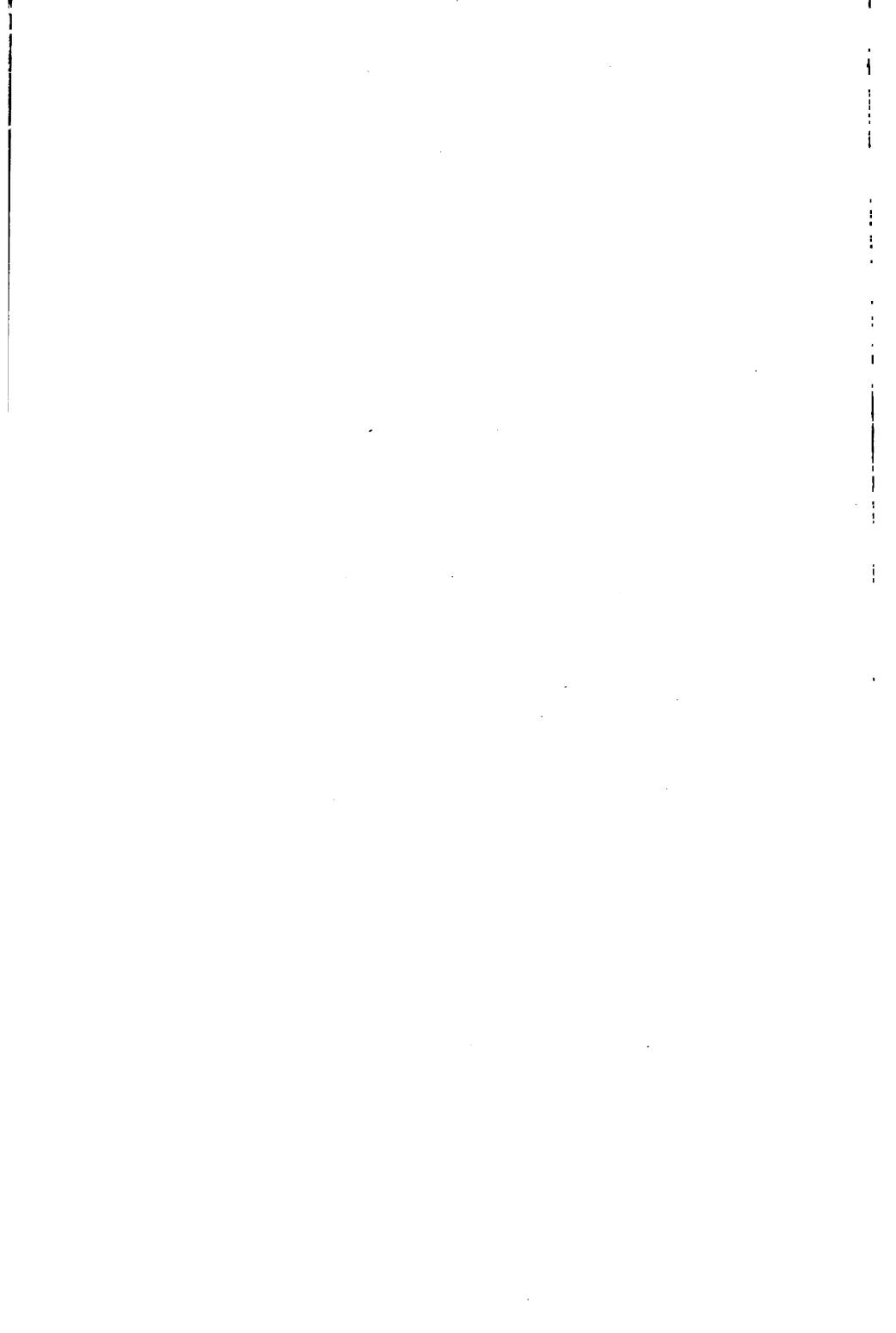
To the left, three stately paces,  
To the right, three paces more;  
Hand in hand then, deftly, laces,  
Hands, their freedom then, restore.  
Proud as charger paws the ground  
Beating feet make earth resound  
Steadily and slow.

I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Mr. Grimshaw, of the London School of Economics, for the translation of this and other poems which I shall quote.

We can quietly watch the girls dancing with the children playing around them, and the women holding the babies in their arms and looking on. The girls are of medium height, some of them tall with slender waists; most of them of dark complexion with large dark or hazel eyes, although you can see also some fair girls with luxuriant light hair falling over their shoulders, plaited and tied with a knot of ribbon, and with blue eyes like the clear sky over their heads. Their demeanor is shy and modest; from time to time a lad gets hold of a handkerchief which, if given voluntarily, means accepted love; that is why the girl protests and wants it back. Their dress, as is usual with the eternal feminine, follows the rules of æsthetics and varies with the region. In the mountain districts we find the real national costume, which is very picturesque, composed of an embroidered blouse of various patterns and colors, and a skirt composed of two pieces like two aprons of black woollen cloth, one in front, the other behind, tightly moulded to the figure like the drapery of an antique statue. Around the waist is an embroidered woollen belt.



A RUMANIAN PEASANT GIRL IN NATIONAL COSTUME



What is interesting in the study of this dress is that the wearer makes it all herself. She weaves the fine cloth of cotton yarn, spun specially for her in the Lancashire mills. When the roll of cloth is finished, balancing it on her head as the women of antiquity did their amphoræ, she carries it to the spring in the meadow, where, after washing it several times and drying it on the grass, she makes it as white as snow. She also washes the wool, and then cards it in readiness for her distaff, which she calls her "furca." The "furca" and the "fusul," or bobbin, are her companions while she is waiting for the cloth to dry. How many times, on the uplands in the mountains under the cool shadow of the fir trees and to the babbling murmur of the spring mountain waters, have I seen this poetic picture of Rumanian life!

The Rumanian peasant-woman so tastefully designs her blouse and skirt and embroiders them with patterns so charming and so harmoniously arranged and with such fine shades of color, that during recent years the refined Rumanian aristocracy has introduced the national blouse as fashionable attire in society. The Rumanian Women's Association of Bucharest has organized this home industry and in various shops they sell the refined product of the peasant women's clever hands. Until quite recently Liberty's was

selling this kind of blouse. I do not know whether its origin was clearly known, because very often goods exported from Rumania arrived in England under the name of Austro-Hungarian or Bulgarian goods. Madame Maria Cozma, a patriotic Rumanian lady from Transylvania, the mother-in-law of our great poet Goga, and Madam Elise Bratano, have collected in artistic albums a good many of these patterns, which are the native and wonderful product of the artistic genius of the Rumanian race. This work has been continually embellished and improved by the Rumanian women from generation to generation in the course of long centuries of work and suffering. This artistic work was the only means of alleviating their anxieties and of elevating their souls.

The Rumanian Minister of Commerce and Industry has also accumulated lately a rich collection of Rumanian patterns and embroideries, and has organized an annual exhibition of this art.

On the plains, where the women have less spare time because they work harder, their physique and their customs are somewhat different. The complexion is less pure and is more sunburned. The waist is less slender, the figure altogether more sturdy. But their eyes, which are the mirror of the soul, are soft, loyal and clear; their

eyes are large, humid, glinting, their dress, although maintaining the national design, is spoiled by garments made of materials of foreign industry which lack the charm and the picturesqueness of the Rumanian peasant dress.

When the sun begins to set, the gay crowd goes back home, and there immediately begins the working week for the girl. What does she not do? She helps her mother with the cooking, in making the bread and polenta, in milking the cows, if they have any, in looking after the poultry, in bringing up and taking care of her younger brothers and sisters, in keeping their home clean and nice. She breeds silk worms, she makes the silk threads and weaves the silk cloth; she makes butter and various kinds of cheese, she cuts and sews the clothes for the family; in short, she knows and practises the multiple arts of home life. A girl of 16 or 18, even though sometimes she does not know how to read and write, is a living encyclopedia in all these arts. At this age the girls usually get married. Among the poorer classes, who form of course the majority, the marriage usually is a marriage of inclination, and the girls, who are prettier, more intelligent, more diligent and more domesticated, naturally have more opportunities in this respect. One fact is certain, that with very few exceptions they



all marry. It is possible that this state of things is brought about because in Rumania the number of women is approximately equal to that of men, and in Moldavia and Bessarabia, there are even more men than women. Once married, the girl, possessing these qualities which I have just enumerated, becomes a good housewife; to quote an old northern-English popular song: "She loves her husband and she keeps her house clean." In the family she plays an important part, sometimes even greater than that of her husband. This, I am given to understand, is by no means unknown in other lands. It is crystallized in the Rumanian folk saying: "Where are you from?" "Where my wife is from." The number of children gives the measure of the honour of the family. A Rumanian proverb says: "The multitude of children is the happiness of the Rumanian." A married woman considers herself unhappy and god-forsaken if she is childless. She employs all sorts of means in order to have children. She drinks orchid infusions, she eats rabbits because rabbits are prolific, she wears round her waist a silk belt which has been kept for 12 days on the church altar, and as a last expedient, she has recourse to the wizards and witches. However, she need not have recourse to such extreme means very often, because the strength of the Rumanian

race lies, in part, in its high birth-rate. Whilst the average birth-rate throughout the world is 30 per thousand inhabitants yearly, in Rumania it is 43 per thousand. This helps to explain why the Rumanian race has resisted through the centuries the most terrible calamities of very varied character. The fact is embodied in the Rumanian proverb: "Romanul nu piere"—"The Rumanian never dies." It is not only for this reason that the Rumanian woman plays such an important rôle, but also for her moral qualities of which I will speak later on.

The Rumanian woman is a good mother. She loves and takes care of her children, no matter how many she has, with an equal solicitude. Her care is that they may be clean, intelligent and pretty. Beauty is a factor dear to the Rumanian people, who have natural artistic inclinations. To illustrate this, I am going to give you some of the lullabies of the Rumanian folk-lore. This is one for girls:

Nani, Nani, Little Girl,  
Mother's darling flower!  
She will rock you in your cradle,  
Wash you in the fresh spring water,  
Make you lovely as the sunshine.  
Nani, Nani, little Love!  
Grow you like a flower!

Tall and slender as the rushes,  
 White as is the mountain daisy,  
 Soft as breast of turtle-dove,  
 Lovely as a Star!

And here is one for boys:

Nani, Nani, Chick of mine!  
 Heaven make you happy!  
 Make you witching-eyed and handsome  
 Like the shining sun;  
 Then may pretty girls adore you,  
 Flowers strew your way.

With all this, however, the life of the Rumanian peasant woman is a long martyrdom; besides doing all the housekeeping she has to nurse and bring up her children (feeding the babies with the bottle is an unknown process among the Rumanian peasant women and is very little used even in the middle classes). The following song illustrates this better:

Comes a little child to her;  
 As she works she rears him;  
 With her foot she rocks his cradle,  
 Twisting still with busy fingers  
 Hemp-yarn from the ever-laden  
 Distaff, at her waist; to her bosom  
 Close she holds him, as her free arm  
 Lays and lights the household fire.

As if all these duties were not enough, she also helps her husband with his work in the fields.



TWO RUMANIAN PEASANT BEAUTIES



She is the first to get up at three o'clock in the morning to light the fire, and cook the meals for the whole day, which she takes to her husband in the fields, where she remains all day helping him to till the soil, to sow, to reap, to dig and plough. I do not know any woman who works more than the Rumanian peasant woman.

As I write these words, the men of Rumania are completing their second year in the war, where a great many of them have died for the accomplishment of a great and high ideal, the reunion of all Rumanians; and the women's share of the work has been greatly increased. I shall always keep in mind the picture of the peasant woman holding her baby to her bosom with one arm, and with the other handling the shafts of the plough. She has all the charge of the family in the absence of her husband, at the front or fallen in the war.

The Rumanian woman is hospitable and good-hearted. She will share everything with others with a real pleasure, and she feels great satisfaction when she can do some good. Mrs. Lucy Garnett in her travels through Macedonia, described in her book "The Women of Turkey," was received so well and with so much sympathy by the Rumanians living in those parts, that she says that the principal characteristic of the Rumanians is their hospitality, which contrasts strik-

ingly with the lack of hospitality shown by the other races living in Macedonia.

The Rumanian woman has an inborn vivid intelligence. She is quick to learn and understand. I remember the surprise of some English friends of mine, who were living in Rumania, when they saw that their servant, a Rumanian girl who could not read or write, in a few months' time knew English so well that she could converse fluently in that language.

Owing to excessive work, to many cares, many children and worries, and perhaps also owing to bad social and hygienic conditions, the Rumanian peasant woman usually ages quickly. It is painful to see how rapidly the features of a splendid girl alter, for within ten or fifteen years after marriage she is likely to have the appearance of an old woman. I am convinced that this is not in the character of the race but is only due to certain conditions which could be changed.

The Rumanian woman is imbued with a high patriotic feeling. It could be said that her love of her nation, her national language, traditions, and customs, has insured the existence of the Rumanian race. During the period of the barbarian invasions and also in more recent times when, owing to the international injustice still ruling the world, the Rumanian race has been divided and

subject to various persecutions in Russia, Hungary, Austria, and Macedonia, it has been especially the woman who has contributed to keep intact the characteristics of the race. She never marries a foreigner, or if sometimes this does happen, she succeeds through her charms and her attraction in nationalizing her husband, and her children are certain to follow the nationality and creed of the mother. This phenomenon is well known and the nationalities concerned are much afraid of it. The Hungarians in their mad idea of forming a Hungarian State of twenty million Hungarians, although there are only six million *real* Hungarians, speaking an impossible Asiatic language, and unable to assimilate European peoples within their pseudo-civilization, have established kindergartens for Rumanian children at the age of three, taking the children by force from the arms of their mothers in order to teach them the language of Arpad. Vain efforts!

When the long awaited Rumanian army entered into Transylvania, the Rumanian women and girls whose husbands and brothers were fighting on the side of Austria-Hungary for a cause which was not theirs, met them with enthusiasm, and showed them the best roads and the unknown pathways by which they could the more easily go forward. When Fate compelled them to retire,



many of these feminine mentors paid with their lives for their brave acts of patriotism. More than 14,000 Rumanians, including men and women, were condemned to death or to prison by the Hungarian military courts, for their patriotic sentiments.

The great Rumanian patriot and writer, Balcesco, who died in exile at Palermo, says: "When the Rumanians revolted against the Hungarians in Transylvania in 1848, the Rumanian women were not behind the men either in courage or in national feeling; they shared with their husbands all the dangers. From the peaks of the mountains they threw a torrent of stones which destroyed the lines of their enemies. Their songs were no longer songs of longing and of glee, but songs full of patriotism and national sentiment. I heard in the ruins of the Abrud—a town laid waste by fire in a tragic night of May, 1849—a young and beautiful mountain girl singing a sweet and melancholy song. But the song was about a happy young Rumanian girl by the name of Florea, who was happy to be a Rumanian of Latin origin, happy not to know and never to have spoken Hungarian, loving only all that is Rumanian, and swearing never to love a Hungarian so long as one Rumanian was left in the world. This song, full of sentiment, that rosy and beau-

tiful virgin, the burnt dark ruins of the Abrud, which were around me, the tombs of the Hungarians which I could see near by, all these made a powerful impression upon me. It seemed as if I was having a vision. I thought I could see the genius of Rumanian nationality hovering over the tombs of their enemies and singing a resurrection song."

In the history of the Rumanian principalities, the wives of the ruling princes and the wives of the state dignitaries were renowned for their piety, courage, dignity and patriotism. On the walls of the most beautiful piece of ecclesiastical architecture in the Near East, the cloister of Curtea de Argesh, one may see the picture of the Prince Neagoe Bessarab and his wife Despina offering to God and to the Rumanian people the church built by them. But outstanding among all the heroines of the past is the mother of Stephen the Great, Prince of Moldavia—at that time a country three times as great as at present. In the 47 years of his long reign he carried on with success as many wars against his neighbours, Hungarians, Poles, Tartars, Russians and Turks. His brilliant and repeated successes against the Turks, then the invaders of Europe who were threatening even Rome, brought him the title of "The Hero of Christendom," given to him by

the Pope, Sixtus IV. After each war in which he was victorious he built a beautiful church. These churches still exist in various parts of the country, and have been used as places of worship up to the present time. Thus he built 47 churches. In the inspiration of his mother he found his highest moral stimulus. This is what a popular legend says about this heroine:

“In this old fortress built on the side of a mountain, the Mother of the Prince keeps watch as a sentinel of honor. Voichitza, the young wife of the Prince, is also there, sweet and suave, as a white carnation, sighing for her glorious and much-loved lord, who returns not from the combat. The Princess, her mother-in-law, consoles and cheers her. The clock has just struck midnight, when Voichitza hears the fanfare of the trumpet and the knocking at the gate. She knows it is her husband, and her heart goes out to him. Both the princesses rise quickly, and soon the voice of him whom they love cries from the darkness: ‘It is I, thy son, dear mother. I thy son! I am wounded in battle, the struggle has been too strong for us, and my little army is devastated. Open the gates, for the Turks are surrounding us, the wind is piercing, and my wounds are painful.’ Voitchitza rushes to the window, but her mother-in-law holds her back, and bidding her

remain where she is, descends the stairs, orders the castle gates to be opened, and appears before her son, tall, majestic, severe—the absolute personification of dignity and grandeur. ‘What do you say, stranger? My Stephen is far away! His arm is sowing death and annihilation. I am his mother and he is my son! If you are really Stephen, I am not your mother. If heaven does not wish to make my last days sorrowful, and if you are really Stephen, you will not enter here, vanquished, against my will. Fly to the battlefield! Die for your country! Your tomb shall be strewn with flowers!’ And closing the door, she remounts the stairs; and calm and serene, she consoles and wipes away the tears of the young Princess Voichitza.”

The dignified descendants of those women of the past are also in the present times keeping high their inheritance and their fruitful mission. Whilst the peasant woman, as I have said, by her daily toil provides the army and the people with the necessary food, clothing and things of first necessity, her sisters of the higher classes are lending all their efforts to the army and the country. Organized in charity societies or individually, they tend the wounded in hospitals, and in the hospital-trains leading from the firing line; they have organized canteens in railway stations,

in villages and towns where they distribute refreshments to the soldiers and encourage them with the smile or the kind word which contributes so much to uplift and maintain the morale so necessary in such trying times. Amongst them are a few hundred Rumanian woman-doctors who are giving enormous help to hospitals.

In the literary realm there are many women who have lifted high the renown of Rumanian literature, both in Rumania and abroad. In the past generation we have had two great names in Rumanian literature: Matilda Poni and Veronica Micle, the latter being contemporary with and a good friend of the greatest of the Rumanian poets, Eminesco. From this generation I must mention Mlle. Vacaresco, who writes equally well in Rumanian and French. Mlle. Vacaresco is faithfully continuing the traditions of her ancestor Enachitza Vacaresco, who lived in the 18th century, and whose last will and testament read as follows:

“To my descendants the Vacaresco I leave this inheritance: To preserve the Rumanian language, and the love of their Fatherland.”

In the foreground of Rumanian womanhood there stands clearly detached our gracious and charming Queen Marie, the most precious gift the Brit-



**ECATERINA THEODOROIU—THE JEANNE D'ARC OF RUMANIA, WHO,  
AFTER HEROIC DEEDS, FELL AT THE HEAD OF HER BATTALION  
IN THE BATTLE OF MARASESTI**



ish people have ever made to their Rumanian ally. Beautiful like a fairy, she is not content only with her literary work in which she, a dignified follower of Carmen Sylva, excels; but being of an active and daring temperament, she expresses in deeds her charitable sentiments. I shall never forget how in 1913, during the Rumanian campaign in Bulgaria, when I was the chief physician of a hospital for cholera of 3,000 beds in barracks at Zimnicen, Queen Marie was the first to enter fearlessly the barracks of my patients to give them assistance and encourage them, and she never forgot to leave flowers behind when she left. In the present war she has not only seen and spoken individually with the wounded, but she has been to her whole people an example of courage and of moral elevation, in the midst of the most terrible circumstances through which a nation has ever passed.

When we think that two-thirds of the country is still occupied by the most cruel and barbarous enemies; that those in the occupied territory know nothing about their people gone to the war, of whom many will never come back; that owing to deadly epidemics of typhoid and to hunger (for many months all days have been meatless days for poor and rich alike), and to the difficult conditions of the retreat, nearly one million of the



seven million inhabitants of Rumania have died (I know villages in which there is not a single inhabitant left, not even a child); that our great eastern ally betrayed us from the beginning, looking on without concern from 20 miles behind the firing line, and that quite recently, after a second betrayal, they declared war on us; only then can one understand the anxieties through which our people is passing at present. There is no escape anywhere. Serbia had at least one way of retreat open to the Adriatic. Through this opening she was able to send her soldiers to fight side by side with the real Western Allies, and their children to France and Italy and England to be taken care of. Rumania had no such opportunity! She is trapped, and there is no possibility of helping her in any way. But the Rumanian says: "*God is all-powerful!*"

Believing in the inherent justice of things and in the true God, who is not the God of war invoked by the Kaiser as his ally, but the God of goodness and justice, let us hope that the day will come which will bring to the Rumanian people *united together*, happier times and a better reward for their labors and sufferings.

## PEASANT CO-OPERATION IN RUMANIA

**T**HE American labourer knows little about the Rumanian peasant; and generally speaking, American opinion is badly informed about Rumania. The reasons are various and I will not insist upon them. Certainly, those who have suffered most from this state of things are the Rumanians themselves, because not only have they remained unknown to the great American nation, but what is worse, other interested peoples have slandered them, have put them in a bad light, have misinterpreted their acts both before and since Rumania's entry into the war. In certain circles of America the Rumanian people arouse almost no interest at all.

Nevertheless, on account of certain native qualities, of intelligence, skill, liveliness, industry and because of his many sufferings, the Rumanian peasant from the Danube and from the Carpathians merits the full sympathy and attention of the American nation.

Among other remarkable achievements exclusively the work of this peasant is the creation of

the Popular Banks and Agrarian Co-operative Societies in Rumania.

No more than twenty years ago the Rumanian peasant was suffering painfully from lack of credit. In order to satisfy his various wants and pay the expenditures for installation, for his family, for taxes, etc., he was obliged to borrow money from the landowner by mortgaging his work for the next summer or summers, and in order to repay he was obliged to sell his labour in winter for practically nothing. For instance, while for ploughing an acre the peasant received in spring or autumn 8 francs, if he was paid before and during the winter he received only 2 francs; for harvesting an acre, instead of 16 francs, the summer price, he received 4 francs! The peasant, being pressed by want and not being able to find credit anywhere, was forced to submit to the iron law of the landowners. When he tried to escape from their grip and sought money from the cereal merchant, the buyer of his crop, he fell from the frying pan into the fire. This man in his turn paid ridiculously low prices in advance for the crop—scarcely a third of the market value of the products. For instance, 20 or 30 francs were regularly paid for a half-ton of corn, the summer price of which would be from 80 to 100 francs. In this manner

the peasant was always between the devil and the deep sea. These circumstances became intolerable and the peasant saw that there was no escape except by his own efforts. Helped by the teachers and priests of the villages, he laid the first foundation of the Popular Banks.

Only two Banks were founded in the first year in the districts of Gorj and Prahova, but three years afterwards, in 1900, their number was 47 and their subsequent development is shown in the following table:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Banks</i>		<i>Capital</i>
1906	2,000	Francs	20,000,000
1911	3,000	"	100,000,000
1916	4,000	"	300,000,000

Perhaps the best example is the Bank "Gilor-tul," in the village Novaci (Gorj District). Founded in 1901 with 70 members and 3,000 francs capital, it reached in 1915 a membership of 4,000 with a capital of 1,000,000 francs, and a turnover of 20,000,00 francs yearly in a small village situated in the beautiful mountains of Oltenia!

Now every village possesses its own Bank. Their capital is obtained by obliging each member to invest a certain sum in the beginning, paid in instalments from his savings year by year after

the sale of his crop. He has no right to withdraw this capital before a fixed time and under special conditions. He receives dividends varying between 6 and 10 per cent. To avoid the entrance into the Banks of big capitalists, the sum subscribed by each member cannot amount to more than 5,000 francs. Besides this fixed capital there are interest-bearing deposits, the amount of which is not limited and for which the Banks pay 5 per cent. The control of the Bank is in the hands of a Committee elected each year in a peasant assembly. All members of the Committee are peasants. Every member can borrow money from the Bank at an interest varying from 7 to 12 per cent. He requires for that the guarantee of one of his fellow-villagers or some pledge or security. The interest might appear high to the American people, but considering the scarcity of capital in Rumania and the former conditions described, the new conditions created by the Banks are a great amelioration. Some banks have more capital than they can employ, others have less and want more. Hence, all the Banks of a District are federated and through a Central Institution they support one another. Another Central Institution in Bucharest, named "Casa Centrala a Bancilor Populare si Co-operativelor Satesti" (The Central House of Popular Banks and Co-



**THE CROWN PRINCE OF RUMANIA AT A MILITARY SCHOOL. THE CROWN PRINCE OF RUMANIA  
(THE NEAREST FIGURE TO THE CAMERA WITH GUN) LEARNING TO USE A MACHINE-  
GUN AT A MILITARY SCHOOL**



operative Societies), directs the whole of the federations and of the banks. This institution is the principal centre of credit and exercises its control by means of its various inspectors.

Past now are the times of usury. The peasant is out of its clutches. His work is justly paid now, his crop is rightly sold and bought. But that was only the first step. The community has at its disposal a large capital which can be employed for its use, and in fact it was quickly utilised in that direction where the peasant's needs were more pressing. And so we come to the foundation of the Agrarian Co-operative Societies.

Some explanation is necessary before entering upon this matter.

Rumania inherited from past generations a complex agrarian situation. The new bills voted by the Parliament last spring correct it in part, but as they have not yet been applied, the peasant has had to deal with it himself. What was that situation? Half of the arable land in the whole of the country belongs to some three or four thousand landowners, and only the other half is owned by the 6,000,000 peasants who, in the absence of manufacturing industries, are forced to live on and from this land. The greater part of the landowners are absentees; they do not work their land but hire it for terms varying between five and



ten years to different speculators who exploit the land and also the peasant without reason or pity.

Possessing a higher spirit of organisation, a greater daring and self-confidence derived from their experience in the Popular Banks, and what is essential, possessing now capital, the peasants appeared as competitors with the speculators and suddenly they defeated and replaced them. The Co-operative Societies were always able to pay a higher rent than the speculators and, through their intensive cultivation and organised labour, to produce increased and more varied crops of better quality than could the former. The land-owner himself is now eager to contract with the peasants instead of the exploiters; of course he wants and obtains higher rent.

The following figures will show the development of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies:

In 1905 there were 37 Societies with 4,503 members having hired 82,000 acres and paying 1,259,946 francs rent.

In 1916 the number of acres was over 1,000,000 and the rent paid about 13,000,000 francs and the membership was 100,000.

The co-operative societies are managed by Committees, as are the Popular Banks. The Committees are elected yearly by the peasants. Financially they are supported by the Popular

Banks in the beginning, and afterwards, if necessary. But after two or three years they have their own capital. For the technical part there is for every Society an Agricultural Engineer of special scientific training and practical experience. He arranges the plans of rotative culture, the selection of seeds and live stock, and indicates and supervises the execution of the work in accordance with scientific principles. Every Society has at its disposal its own machinery and breeding stock. The land is divided into big estates suitable for every kind of culture and every variety of crop. In each of those estates every peasant possesses such an extent of land as he and his family are able to work, taking care at the same time that all members of the Society are satisfied. The selling of the crop is done collectively. In this way the peasants succeeded as I said in increasing the crops, in making them better and more varied. A general improvement may be observed in the villages where there are co-operative societies. The houses are better built, the people better dressed and nourished, the live stock more abundant and better selected. The following description made by one of the best agriculturalists of the country summarizes what I have described:

“The land Perisoru, District of Braila, was rented to the speculator Gaetan for 80,000 francs

a year; the co-operative society 'A.I. Cuza' took it and paid 163,000 francs. In 1916 that society sold 1750 tons of wheat, 600 tons of barley, 600 tons of corn, besides what each peasant sold of his own property (apart from that of the society). The land Filiiu, in the same District, for which the same speculator Gaetan paid 80,000 francs yearly, was rented by the society 'Tudor Vladimirescu' at the rate of 120,000 francs. The land Bordeiu Verde, let to another speculator at 120,000 francs, passed to the society 'I. C. Bratianu' which pays 214,000 francs. In spite of these high rents the peasant prospered enormously. The houses are vastly improved, food is better, the machinery and the live stock have been increased. The society of Perisoru possesses a reserve fund of 200,000 francs and has subscribed 100,000 francs to the National War Loan.

"That fact could not have been explained otherwise than by the increase of production. Truly, according to collected statistics, in the best years the production was 24 hectolitres per hectare (2 acres), when the land belonged to the speculator, and 40 hectolitres per hectare when it was peasant property. The society increased and improved the live stock. The landowners in the neighbourhood brought their mares to the stallions of the society."

There are also other kinds of co-operative societies. Amongst them I mention the societies for forest exploitation, the milk societies and societies of consumers. The latter only have not succeeded. The competition of private traders and the want of skilled and trained personnel were the causes of failure. Of course the managers, who must necessarily possess a special knowledge of many details, could not be recruited from among the peasants; they had to be chosen among the specialists; but these were just those who had failed in private business and consequently were not of the best type.

In any case, from what I have described it appears that the beginning of Rumanian co-operation is exceedingly encouraging and the time is not far distant when all the agricultural activity of the country will be established on a co-operative basis. Besides the increase of the individual and collective wealth, a powerful political idea resulted from the system. The various meetings held annually by the organisation of the Banks and co-operative societies educated the peasants in the interests of the community; and the success obtained increased not only their capital but their confidence and daring also. They were now ready to be an important political factor and the new franchise Bill, giving universal vote, is partly in-

spired by the proof of capacity which the people have already given.

Note then, American fellow co-operatists, that even your little comrade from the Danubian plains and Carpathian mountains, although in extremely difficult conditions, has done wonderful work in co-operation.

When will the time come, when the Rumanian co-operative societies will sell directly to foreign consumers' societies their abundant goods and on the other hand when great foreign co-operative societies will provide the Rumanians with all the agricultural machinery and manufactured goods which they require?

## FOR THE REUNION OF ALL RUMANIANS

**A**MONG all the small nations which entered the great war, Rumania is the least known; about her very little is heard. During her fight and her tragical situation after the Russian collapse, all sympathies were directed towards her. But quickly afterward, she was forgotten, and now when her fate is to be decided, people know less than ever concerning her condition.

It seems to us that she deserves more attention, not only because she fought so bravely and suffered so much, but also on account of her great possibilities in the near future. Various English, French and American missions that were sent to Rumania's help, came back unanimously with excellent impressions of the qualities of the Rumanian peasantry, and all assert that this people, if united with all its racial kin now under Austro-Hungarian oppression, is capable of a great and rapid development.

Various in-born qualities, vivid intelligence, diligence, the hospitality of her inhabitants, com-

bined with the great richness of the territories inhabited by them, make it possible that in the centre of Europe this Latin people may exert an influence for equilibrium and sane democracy.

Rumania entered the war in 1916 *by her own will*, not forced like Belgium and Serbia. We can say more: Having seen the disasters of those two countries, and in spite of the mistrust which Russia gave her cause to feel, she nevertheless joined the Entente at a time when success was far distant.

Rumania had brethren living under oppression on both sides. The Russian Czars had taken and retaken Bessarabia twice in a century, and in Hungary and Austria other brethren had been oppressed for centuries. She could easily enter the war on either side. She preferred the *then* more dangerous side—the Germans were then at the top of their success.

Two factors pushed Rumania towards the Entente; the racial feeling (Rumanians, like the French and Italians, are a Latin-speaking people), and the democratic temper. I say expressly democratic temper although in spite of the democratic constitution and the profound democratic feeling of the masses, Rumania was ruled by non-democratic elements. But the war was made by the people, and against the landlord's will. The

temper of the people decided the war,—and Rumania took her place in the struggle. When the German drive was strongest on Verdun, through Rumania's intervention the Germans were obliged to remove some thirty divisions, which were directed towards Rumania, and the Verdun front was delivered.

Rumania's share of misfortune was great. In the Rumanian Kingdom there are only graves. One million died by starvation and disease. The last letter I received from my brother said: "No meat can be sold, and all days are meatless. Bread is a mixture of oats and sago and can only be had five times a week. A pair of old shoes costs \$150, and an old overcoat \$200. A general epidemic of yellow jaundice is over the country and even the royal family are suffering from it. But we could stand all this if only we could have some hope for the future." Since then the conditions are worse. In Transylvania and Hungary, 15,000 intellectuals, priests and teachers, were hanged by the Hungarians, being accused of taking the part of the Rumanians during the invasion. 300,000 Rumanians living near the Rumanian boundary were removed into Hungary and on their estates were put Hungarians. In Bulgaria there were 30,000 Rumanian prisoners. Only 10,000 returned home. The others died



of starvation or were killed in the public places, having their heads covered with bags and knocked off with clubs! Innumerable have been the sufferings of the Rumanians during the present war. The so-called "peace treaty" of Bucharest took from Rumania all the Carpathians, the Dobrudja, more than 500,000 co-nationals, all the riches in oil and minerals, and prohibited Rumanians by treaty from ever mentioning in books or speech the fact that they have brethren in Transylvania!

In spite of so many misfortunes the spirit in the country is still high. Isolated from their natural friends, receiving no help of any kind, suffering long under German military occupation and under the Rumanian Junker Government, imposed by the Germans, the people remained loyal to their cause. They suffered in silence, but they did not lose their hope and they are anxiously awaiting the hour of their liberation and of the fulfillment of their ideals.

I, myself, saw two Rumanian officers who after the treaty imposed on the country, left the army and with great risks in passing through the German and Bolshevik lines arrived at Moscow on foot. From there they came to France, where they entered the French army. A friend writes me from Paris that "at the first news of the Entente's victories, people in Bucharest cried

'Down with the Germans!' They sang the *Marseillaise* and shot upon the German Guard. Many of them were killed and imprisoned."

If on the Rumanian side the attitude was and is clear, we cannot reproach her for the treaty to which she was forced by the Russian betrayal; but it seems that on the side of the Allies and especially of America some misunderstanding has existed.

Some time ago, the Congress passed a Bill for the creation of a Slavic legion in America. It is specified that Slavs comprise: Czechs, Jugo-Slavs and Ruthenians. Let me say that Ruthenians did not demand that favor. In spite of the fact that there are in America nearly 200,000 Rumanians from Transylvania (the oppressed country), they were not included in the Bill. And they were anxious to fight for their own cause. I worked two months for the passage of the Bill, but my efforts were vain.

Senator Lodge, in his speech of 23rd August, spoke about an independent Poland, a Jugo-Slav and Czecho-Slovak Independent State, but for restoration of Rumania only. He spoke about the Italians in Trieste rejoining Italy, but said nothing about the Rumanians in Hungary rejoining Rumania.

The tenth point of the President's speech on

the 8th January mentions the federalization of Austria-Hungary. No people of Austria likes forced federation, and federation in and with Austria-Hungary is a forced federation. Austria-Hungary is now ready to federate (against the wills of her peoples) and Hungary does more; she says that she is also oppressed and separates from Austria, in order to be more free to oppress the Rumanians, the Serbs and the Slovaks.

Various prominent people with whom I have discussed the Rumanian problem have asked me if Rumania formerly possessed Transylvania. But Transylvania was not possessed in the past even by Hungary. Until 1865 Transylvania was an independent principality, ruled by the *Unio Tres Nationum* (Magyars, Szekelers and Germans), who represented 500,000 people. Then fearing Rumania's development, the Assembly of Transylvania, composed of one hundred deputies representing the half million oppressors, and thirteen Rumanians representing the majority of three millions oppressed, voted the union with Hungary. The thirteen Rumanians voted against. The union with Hungary was made in order to Magyarise the Rumanians. But they have not succeeded in the last fifty years, in spite of their efforts. Such an illegal act has no value and if Rumania did not possess Transylvania, Hungary also did not.

Another question put to me has been about the number of Hungarians living in Transylvania and other Rumanian countries. I can reply that even according to the Hungarian statistics which are untrustworthy, the Rumanian element is in a majority everywhere in comparison with the other three nationalities, mixed with them.

So, historically, geographically, ethnographically, the right is on the Rumanian side.

Now I cannot see the reason for such an attitude on the part of official America. I know only that without the Union of the Rumanians from Transylvania, Banat, Hungary and Bucovina, with those from Rumania and Bessarabia, there cannot be a just and lasting peace in the centre of Europe. Through various revolutions, drowned in blood, in the 16th, 18th and 19th centuries, through various wars, memoranda, protests and writings, the Rumanians from everywhere have always demanded their Union.

The very existence of the Rumanian nation cannot be assured without the realization of this aspiration. The normal development of Rumania cannot be accomplished without the fulfilment of its national ideal. The peace of the world will not be assured, because after the right settlement for all other nations, we could not suffer that only we in Europe should be unjustly treated. And the first State where the army

police instituted by the League of Nations should interfere, would be Rumania, to help the Hungarians to oppress us more!

If, as the President said in his address to the Senate on February 11, 1918: "What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon the broad and universal principles of right and justice," then peace and a new international order, against our race and nation, against our rights, cannot be.

Instead of working for the complete democratization of our country we shall be forced to fight in revolutions for our oppressed brothers.

And there are strong elements for democracy in Rumania. First of all, there are the peasants themselves. If till the present time the landlords have dominated, because sustained morally by the autocratic forces of Russia and Austria, now they will disappear like a mist. In the last twenty years, the peasants by their own efforts have created 4000 popular banks in order to escape the usury of the landlords, and rented for the cooperative societies, which are highly developed among us, more than two million acres.

Owing to this and to the splendid deeds of the soldiers in this war for the Allied Cause, even the landlord governing class voted the reform of a

new franchise based on universal suffrage, and a new agrarian bill giving to the peasants four million acres. Not satisfied with that, fifteen deputies, sustained by the great masses, formed a new party, the Labor Party, which, with the aid of the peasants, will be the governing party of tomorrow. Our great help will come also from Bessarabia and Transylvania.

Bessarabia, a pure Rumanian province, which joined with Rumania of her free will last April, has a very democratic constitution. In her Assembly, elected by universal man and woman vote, are represented all the national minority groups. Her independence (declared last November) was not recognized by the Allies, although they recognized the Ukrainians and the Finns. But if evidence is not to be contradicted she will be recognized and will be a dominant factor in the democratic life of the future Rumania.

The Transylvanians, who always fought against the oppression of the Hungarian Counts and Barons, who are deprived of their own nobility, are a people of peasants and purely democratic. In 1848, when they revolted against the Hungarians, they assembled to the number of 40,000 on the "Field of Freedom" near the town of Blaj and took the oath: "to defend our Rumanian language and rights, defend liberty, equal-

ity and fraternity; in accordance with those principles to respect the nationalities of all the inhabitants of Transylvania, claiming from them equal respect for our own nationality. I will not attempt to oppress anybody but neither will I suffer the oppression of anybody. I will co-operate in the furtherance of the good of mankind, of the Rumanian Nation and of the Fatherland. So help me God and bring salvation to my soul."

And the Transylvanians of to-day are the dignified sons of those of 1848.

America, who defends the rights of all the oppressed, whose creation is based upon justice and rights, who through Lincoln defended the cause of the colored people, cannot be deaf to our just demands.

America will help us to create an integral Rumania, which necessarily will be a strong Democracy and a factor for tranquillity in this very disturbed part of Europe.

America is not bound by a treaty with Rumania, like the other Powers of the Entente, but she is bound by her ideal of justice, stronger than any treaty, and according to her ideal, she cannot do us injustice.



THE WHITE GUARD—SO CALLED BECAUSE, HAVING EXHAUSTED  
THEIR AMMUNITION, THE SOLDIERS ATTACKED AND Routed  
THE ENEMY WITH CLUBBED RIFLES





## UKRAINIA AND BESSARABIA

THE determination arrived at by the free choice of the Moldavian people of Bessarabia to attach themselves again to Rumania, from which they have been separated for a hundred years by violence and treachery, has given rise to lively protests in various states and to profound mistrust in circles of political opinion. Some of these protests are easily understood. The Bulgarians and the Hungarians, for example, cannot regard with favour, after having imposed upon us a peace of plunder, our finding strength for new life in the union of Bessarabia with Rumania. The coincidence of the decision of Bessarabia with the peace imposed by Germany has caused an understandable confusion, and this act, so important for us Rumanians, has been regarded with a certain distrust.

But what is indeed incomprehensible is the fact that the most energetic protests come from the Ukrainians themselves. These people, like the Moldavians of Bessarabia, have been victims of a perfidious conquest by Tsarist Russia. Now that

Tsarism has disappeared, let us hope forever, does the Socialist republic of the Ukraine intend to profit by the unjust conquest of the Russian autocracy? In refusing to Bessarabia the liberty freely to express its will, Ukraina saps the very foundation of its own existence. For the liberty of Ukraina, just as much as that of Bessarabia, derives from the application of the principles of the Russian revolution—"the right of peoples to govern themselves."

Upon what, then, is the protest of Ukraina based? It cannot be upon historical arguments. From the constitution of the Rumanian people down to 1812, Bessarabia was an integral part of Moldavia. The very name of Bessarabia did not exist before 1812. It was given to it only in order to destroy the memory of its name as a Moldavian province. Upon ethnic arguments? But in a population of about three millions in Bessarabia there are two millions who are Rumanian Moldavians and only 210,000 who are Ukrainians. These latter are scattered over the whole extent of the country and mingled with the rest of the population.

One cannot conceive a territorial arrangement abandoning to Ukraina that part of Bessarabia which borders upon it. Bessarabia is a geographic unity clearly determined by its national

boundaries, the Dniester, the Pruth and the sea. But what is most important is that beyond the Dniester, in Ukrainia itself, there are compact masses of Rumanians, much more important numerically than the Ukrainians in Bessarabia. To be just, therefore, it would be necessary that certain important parts of Ukrainia should be attached to Bessarabia, in exchange for narrow regions in the north of the latter, which would pass to Ukrainia.

Assuredly this solution would hardly suit the Ukrainians. For us the protest of Ukrainia has a moral significance for the future. If it is upheld, it will bring in its train bad relations between that country and ourselves. Beyond the question of the interests of our common enemies, I can see no motive for rivalry between the Ukrainians and the Rumanians. Our peasants resemble theirs in their way of living, their customs, and their religion so closely that a *rapprochement* between them would be very easy to make. I believe, moreover, that the minority composed of 210,000 Ukrainians in Bessarabia could serve to promote such a *rapprochement*, and that the manner in which they will be treated by us will be a pledge and a guarantee of like treatment for the Rumanian elements in Ukrainia—elements much more considerable than is generally thought. To

see the real importance of these Rumanian groups it will be sufficient to recall that the departments of Tiraspol and Ananiev in the government of Cherson, the government of Podolia, the region of Biltzi, and all the left bank of the Dniester are completely Rumanian. And further, the majority of the inhabitants of the villages as far as the Bug, are Moldavians. Purely Rumanian village names such as Perisori, Mosnegii, Slobozi, are found far to the east beyond the Dniester. Rumanian officers collecting provisions in these regions have been surprised to find themselves understood when speaking Moldavian by all the peasants. At Ekaterinoslav there is a Moldavian community of over two thousand persons, and entire hamlets as far as the district of Kiev are equally Moldavian. I myself in passing through Russia have been surprised to meet, far to the east of the Dniester, peasants who spoke Rumanian.

The existence of these considerable Rumanian masses, which, according to experts, attain the figure of one and a half millions, and the existence of 210,000 Ukrainians in Bessarabia, should be powerful motives to lead us to understand rather than to hate each other. Reciprocal guarantees for every freedom of religion, of instruction and of civic life will be the most solid base upon which

to found good relations between them and us.

Let us hope that it will be so. And in this connection it may be useful to cite certain statistics for the regions concerned.

#### THE POPULATION OF BESSARABIA

The *Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris* of May, 1918, in an article about the countries taken away from Russia, and dealing with the peoples that inhabited those countries, gives the following figures regarding Bessarabia:

"Bessarabia (45,000 sq. kil.) whose population amounted in 1912 to 2,540,000 inhabitants, had in 1897 only 1,935,000. At this latter date the division according to the mother language was as follows:

Moldavians and Rumanians . . . . .	920,000
Russians . . . . .	548,000
Little Russians . . . . .	390,000
Greater Russians . . . . .	156,000
White Russians . . . . .	2,000
Jews . . . . .	228,000
Bulgarians . . . . .	182,000
Germans . . . . .	60,000
Turks . . . . .	56,000
Poles . . . . .	12,000

These statistics are bad from three points of view: first, they are too old; secondly, there is no indication of the sources from which they are

derived; thirdly, they are inexact. The compilation of statistics is a delicate matter which requires much work, much intelligence, and, above all, honesty. These three qualities, especially the last, were unknown in the old 'Russian bureaucratic régime, under which these data were compiled. We believe that it is our duty to rectify them.

The most recent and by far the most complete figures about Bessarabia are given by Alexis Nour in his ethnographical map of Bessarabia, made in 1916, according to the following sources:

- a) Material regarding nationalities in Bessarabia collected by the Zemstvos of Bessarabia in 1906-1909;
- b) The data provided by the annual statistics of Bessarabia in 1914;
- c) Maps of the Russian General Staff;
- d) Various other maps of Bessarabia published in Russia and Germany;
- e) Various Russian studies about Bessarabia.
- f) Personal inquiries.

This work is done conscientiously and the author cannot be suspected of partiality. The figures given below are, we think, the nearest the truth:

Total Area . . . . . 44,000 (sq. kilometers)  
Total Population . . . 3,000,000 inhabitants  
in round numbers

divided according to mother language :

Rumanian Moldavian .....	2,000,000
Russified Rumanians.....	75,000
Jews .....	270,000
Gypsies .....	65,000
Armenians .....	18,000
Ukrainians .....	210,000
Russians .....	85,000
Lithovenes (Old Russia).....	40,000
Cossacks .....	35,000
Bulgarians (Colonists).....	60,000
Gagaoutz (Christian Turks)...	30,000
Germans (Colonists).....	70,000
Poles .....	20,000
Greeks .....	10,000
French .....	2,000
Other nationalities.....	10,000

From these figures it is seen clearly that two thirds of the Bessarabian population are Rumanians; indeed a larger proportion than that, if we take into account the Jews, Gypsies, and Armenians, who live in great masses in Rumania itself, using the Rumanian language in their everyday life and affairs, sharing Rumanian sentiments, and having no aspiration to found a state of their own in these regions. We may conclude safely that more than two-thirds of the population of Bessarabia is then Rumanian.

Anyhow, the group of Russians, even by putting together all kinds of Russians, cannot exceed



370,000 in number; that is to say, a little more than 10 per cent of the total population.

For these reasons we are surprised that in the *Revue des Sciences Politiques* of April, 1918, M. F. P. Renaut, in an article otherwise well-disposed toward the Rumanians, calls Bessarabia a "*province roumano-ruthène.*" In regard to the small number of Ruthenians (Little Russians) in comparison with the Rumanians this epithet seems to us all the more unjustifiable since M. Renaut himself says a little further on in the same article: "In this province the Russian and even the Slav influences did not penetrate." He adds that "the Rumanian population is very dense there," and that only near the boundaries of Vodolii and on the Black Sea littoral did the Ruthenians succeed in establishing themselves. In the same article, certainly by mistake, the river Pruth is described as a river "essentially Wallachian," while it is essentially Moldavian, because this river from its source to its confluence with the Danube drains exclusively the soil of ancient Moldavia.

The author adds again, that because the Rumanians are in the majority, the Catholic faith is predominant. Now the Rumanians of Bessarabia, like their brothers of Rumania, belong to the Greek-orthodox church. Only a part of the Transylvanians are Catholics.

One may say of Bessarabia that being on the one hand isolated from Rumania as by a Chinese wall by numerous Russian frontier guards, and on the other hand being a boundary province of the vast Russia, she has been *nearly unknown*. Therefore we have as many different sets of statistics as there are different books on the subject. Anyhow, if we put aside the statistics, and if we ask a Russian in good faith, be he Bolshevist or Tsarist (if there are still any), what kind of a population inhabits Bessarabia, he will without any hesitation reply "Moldavian." Thru ignorance or intention he will say that Moldavian is not the same thing as Rumanian. To elucidate this problem we suggest the following experiment: take at random a peasant from any far east of Bessarabia whose father and grandfathers have had no contact during a whole century with the Rumanians (due to the rigorous Russian measures); put this man in the presence of another peasant from the far west of Transylvania or the Banat whose ancestors suffered for a thousand years the Hungarian yoke; if these two simple and uncultivated men are not able to understand one another without the slightest difficulty, using the same Rumanian language, we are willing to renounce all our national aspirations!

Bessarabia is a part that was torn from bleeding

Moldavia in 1812. It is a Rumanian province, as it always was, and has remained such, in spite of vicissitudes, because of the strong vitality of the Rumanian race. When the right of self-determination is recognized for all ethnical groups, it is sad to see that there is some hesitation in approving the decision of the Bessarabian diet. This popular assembly which undoubtedly represents the clear conscience of the masses, decided emphatically for the return of Bessarabia to the mother country. Why is not hearty approval given to this just aspiration and decision?

We have not, however, lost all our hope. We are convinced that soon the hour of justice will come.

MEMORANDUM OF THE RUMANIAN  
WAR AIMS SUBMITTED TO THE  
INTER-ALLIED LABOR CON-  
FERENCE, LONDON,  
FEBRUARY, 1918

**R**UMANIA'S entry into the war was not actuated by ambitions for territorial expansion or for the acquisition of markets. Exclusively agricultural in character, Rumania possessed secure outlets for her products; and her growing economic prosperity was never more flourishing than in the first years of the war. As far as they were concerned the propertied classes might hence have preferred to continue in a lucrative neutrality. But in the consciousness of the masses there was a deep sense of sore injustice, for five millions, and the best, of their fellow-nationals were languishing under foreign rule. A century-long oppression in the east and in the west had balked the blossoming of the rich qualities with which the Rumanians are endowed and had stultified the contribution which they should have been able to make to the common life of mankind. It was therefore under

the impulsion of their national instinct that the Rumanians joined in the war. After two years of European war they could not but have been fully aware of the dreadful risks they were incurring, but they meant by such conscious sacrifice to purchase a right to have their cause heard and judged at the court of the civilized peoples of the world.

The efforts of the Rumanian people towards national unity reach far back into the centuries. That has been the ideal which guided and strengthened them through the many vicissitudes of which their history is full. That ideal was realized for a short time at the end of the sixteenth century by Michael the Brave, who united under his rule Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. But not only was it found impossible to perpetuate that achievement, on account of the power of the Turks and of the ungenerous policies of the neighboring Christian princes; Moldavia, moreover, was subsequently robbed of its two most fertile provinces, Bucowina and Bessarabia; the autonomous Duchy of Transylvania was subjected by Austria to the Magyars; while Wallachia and what remained of Moldavia were leading a precarious existence under Turkish suzerainty and an equally sordid Russian protectorate.

Under the influences of the ideals set up by the

French Revolution, the two Rumanian provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia merged about the middle of the last century into the independent kingdom of Rumania, which so developed within a short half-century as to prove that it was receptive ground for the ideals of western civilization. But the Rumanians derived little joy from their proud prosperity when they looked around them. In the east the most fertile part of Moldavia, Bessarabia, was withering under the rule of the Tsars; in the west the Magyars were inflicting infinite moral tortures upon the people of Transylvania; while northwards, in Bucowina, the traditional Austrian policy was slowly but surely disintegrating the national consciousness of the Rumanian population. That situation vitiated the atmosphere into which the young Rumanian polity was developing, and no Rumanian could accept it as the settled order of things. Since those in whose hands lay the fate of the subject Rumanians showed no signs of being willing to grant reform, the Rumanians could not possibly have let pass the opportunity of enforcing a redress of the situation which was afforded by the outbreak of the war. So flagrant was the situation that in a conversation which took place earlier in the war between the Austrian Minister at Bucharest, Count Czernin, and M. Take Jonescu

the former bluntly exclaimed: "You will go to war with us. That is an understood thing. It is both your interest and your duty."

Rumania was faced at once with the difficulty of having claims upon both groups of belligerents. But though action on the side of the Central Powers offered technically infinitely easier and wider possibilities, the Rumanians had no hesitation in choosing the more difficult task because it was the sacred task of establishing justice which the western democracies and her sister-nations, England, France and Italy, had taken upon them. Rumania took that course in spite of the distrust in which she held Russia. Six times during the nineteenth century did the armies of the Czar invade and batten upon the Rumanian lands. But the Rumanians entertained no mistrust towards the Russian people, and the writer can bear testimony to the way in which the Russian Revolution found assistance at the hands of the Rumanians, who gave refuge to its leaders, circulated their writings, and aided them in many ways. Notwithstanding some of the mistakes committed towards her by revolutionary Russia, Rumania will never forget that the high principles which the revolution applied made possible the first step in the process of liberation of the Rumanian people. The principle of self-determination proclaimed by the revolution

allowed the two million Rumanians of Bessarabia to awake to new life, and organize themselves on an autonomous and democratic basis in the "Moldavian Republic."

There shall be no mention made here of the horrible sufferings which the Rumanians have gone through during the war, nor shall they be urged in justification of any claim from which an unjust arrangement might be bequeathed to the future. In the words of that great citizen of the world, President Wilson: "What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon the broad and universal principles of right and justice, . . . national aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent." The situation which allows four million Rumanians, living in compact masses and in direct contact with their co-nationals within the Kingdom, to be dominated by a small foreign minority, to be left without national representation, without national schools, and without secure rights, is as unjust as it must be ominous for any prospect of lasting peace. That is recognised even by the extreme wing of the Rumanian socialists. In an open letter addressed to the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee on January 26th, 1918, Comrade Dr. Rakowsky urges that "the Transylva-



nian question is essentially the national question of Hungary and the cause of many past and possibly also of future conflicts; and it is a question of such consequence that it cannot possibly be disregarded in any proposals for a *lasting* peace."

The fundamental condition of a lasting peace has been accepted to be the principle of self-determination. The untiring demands of the Rumanians of Hungary for national independence are too well known to need repetition here. It should only be pointed out that the Transylvanian prisoners of war in Russia petitioned the Russian provisional Government for permission to fight for the liberation of Transylvania, and that several thousands of them have voluntarily joined the ranks of the much-tried Rumanian army.

The fundamental aim of the labor world is that the settlement shall be such as will provide a clean ground for the ripening of democracy. Now it is obvious that the four million Rumanians of Transylvania whose democratic sentiments have been hardened by the most tyrannic oppression must necessarily constitute an important democratic factor; and that incorporated with Rumania they would infuse a new democratic spirit into the not irreproachable political life of that kingdom. A united Rumanian state, almost half of whose population would be composed of people

who have stood the test and trials of oligarchical despotism, would be a factor of stability and democratic progress in Eastern Europe.

A Rumanian state formed on such a basis would include various national minorities. It is the hope of all of us that the civilized world will no longer know racial and national feuds; but there are in addition cogent reasons why the fate of those national minorities need not be viewed with concern. The Rumanians will be bound to give them full possibilities of development in order to secure similar advantages for the several Rumanian minorities which will remain outside the boundaries of the new state; in Ukraina (in the government of Korson and in Podolia); in Serbia (in the Timok Valley); in Bulgaria (on the right bank of the Danube); and in Macedonia, with its half-million Rumanians. But their independence is most of all assured by the fact that the much-oppressed Rumanian nation has never shown leanings towards oppression. This statement finds corroboration in ancient and in recent history. When in 1848 the Transylvanians rose to shake off Magyar despotism, 40,000 of them assembled outside the town of Blaj, and each and all of them took the oath "to defend our Rumanian language and rights, defend liberty, equality and fraternity; in accordance with those

principles to respect the nationalities of all the inhabitants of Transylvania, claiming from them equal respect for my own nationality. I will not attempt to oppress anybody, but neither will I suffer the oppression of anybody. I will co-operate in the furtherance of the good of mankind, of the Rumanian nation, and of the Fatherland. So help me God and bring deliverance to my soul."

That worthy tradition of our revolutionary forefathers has found expression and application in the acts of the new Moldavian Republic, which has given itself an unqualified democratic constitution. Among the 150 members of the Provisional Assembly (Council of the Land) there are fifteen Ukrainians, thirteen Jews, five Bulgarians, etc.; and the Proclamation which sets out in detail the immediate function which the Assembly is called upon to fill provides by Article 7 that it shall: "insure full equality of rights to all the peoples living in the territory of the Moldavian Republic, giving them cultural, national, and personal autonomy."

In conclusion, as a question of justice, for Labor cannot sanction oppression; of principle, because self-determination is the essence of our ideals; as well as of policy, because we cannot better further democracy than by reducing strife-bringing na-

tional problems: for all these reasons, and inspired by no other sentiment than love and charity for the world of man, we consider that the future Rumanian state should comprise the following provinces:

1. *The Rumanian Kingdom* within the boundaries which obtained before the Peace of Bucharest of 1913. The territory then acquired by Rumania in southern Dobrudja must be restored to Bulgaria. But the Bulgarian claim to the whole of the Dobrudja can in no way be justified, since (a) out of a total population of roughly 400,000 the Dobrudja contains about 300,000 Rumanians as against 40,000 Bulgarians, (b) that region which was practically a desert when handed over to Rumania by the Great Powers in 1878, has been developed very satisfactorily and exclusively by Rumanian money and energy, (c) it is Rumania's only outlet to the open sea. The admission of the Bulgarian claim would be a flagrant injustice, it would cripple Rumania economically, and it would make reconciliation between the two peoples impossible.

2. *Transylvania*, with a substantial minority of Szekelers and smaller minorities of Saxons and Magyars.

3. The *Banat*, two-thirds of the population of which is Rumanian, the rest being composed main-

ly of Serbs, with a certain admixture of Germans, in the district of Torontal. The Serbian and Rumanian peoples who have never faced one another as foes will certainly be able to settle this question by friendly agreement.

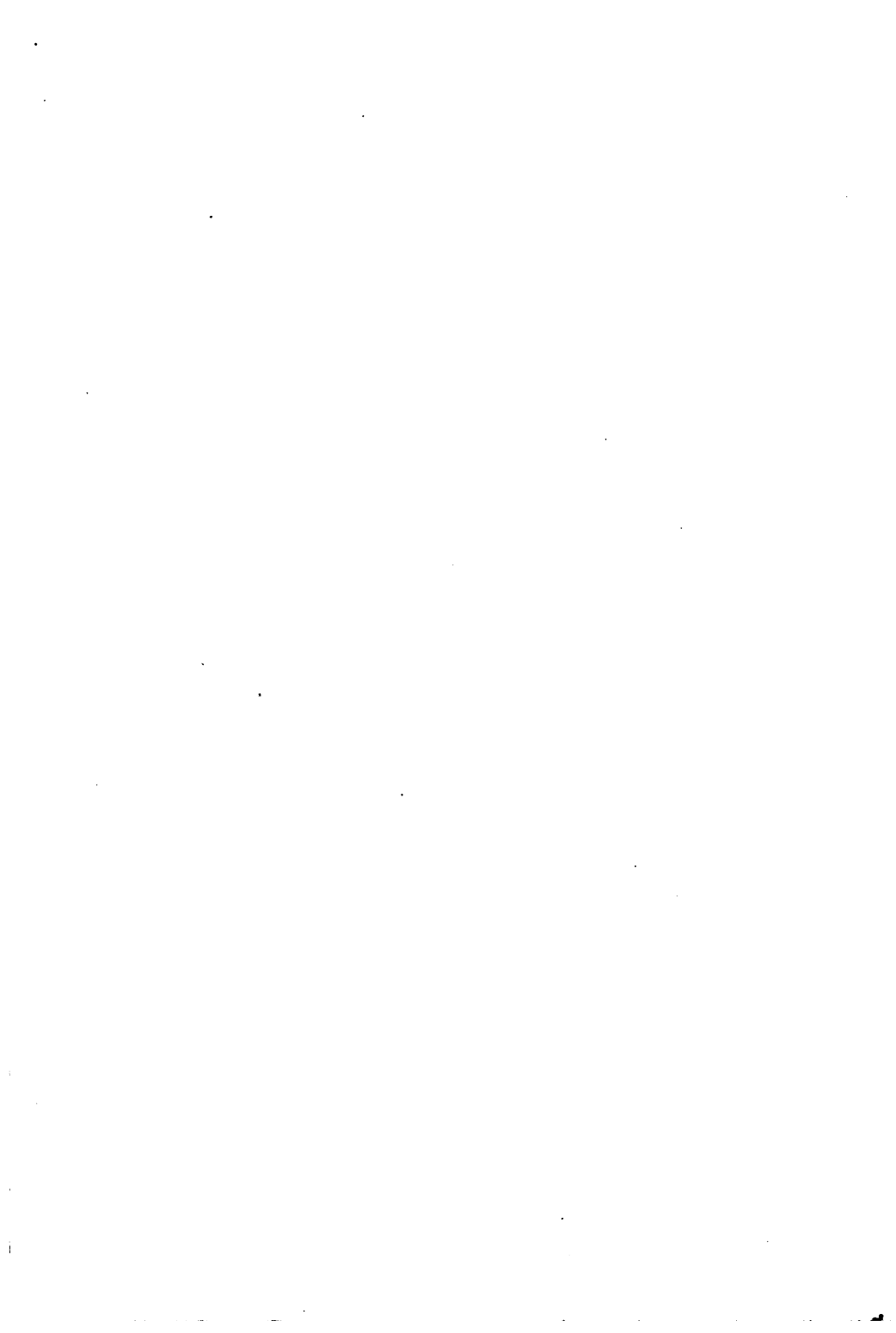
4. *Bucowina*, that is, the southern two-thirds of the province; the northern third, which is inhabited by Ruthenians, should be attached to the Ukrainian Republic.

5. *Crishaha*. The "comitats" in which the Rumanians preponderate and which border on Transylvania have a continuous Rumanian population; that point is of importance since the boundaries of those "comitats" have been so traced by the Hungarians for electoral purposes as to cut across the compact masses of the Rumanian population.

6. *Maramuresh*, in its southern portion, the northern part having a Slovak population.

7. *Bessarabia*, if the new Moldavian Republic expresses a desire to be incorporated in the new Rumanian state, in which case its constitution and legislation should be respected.





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